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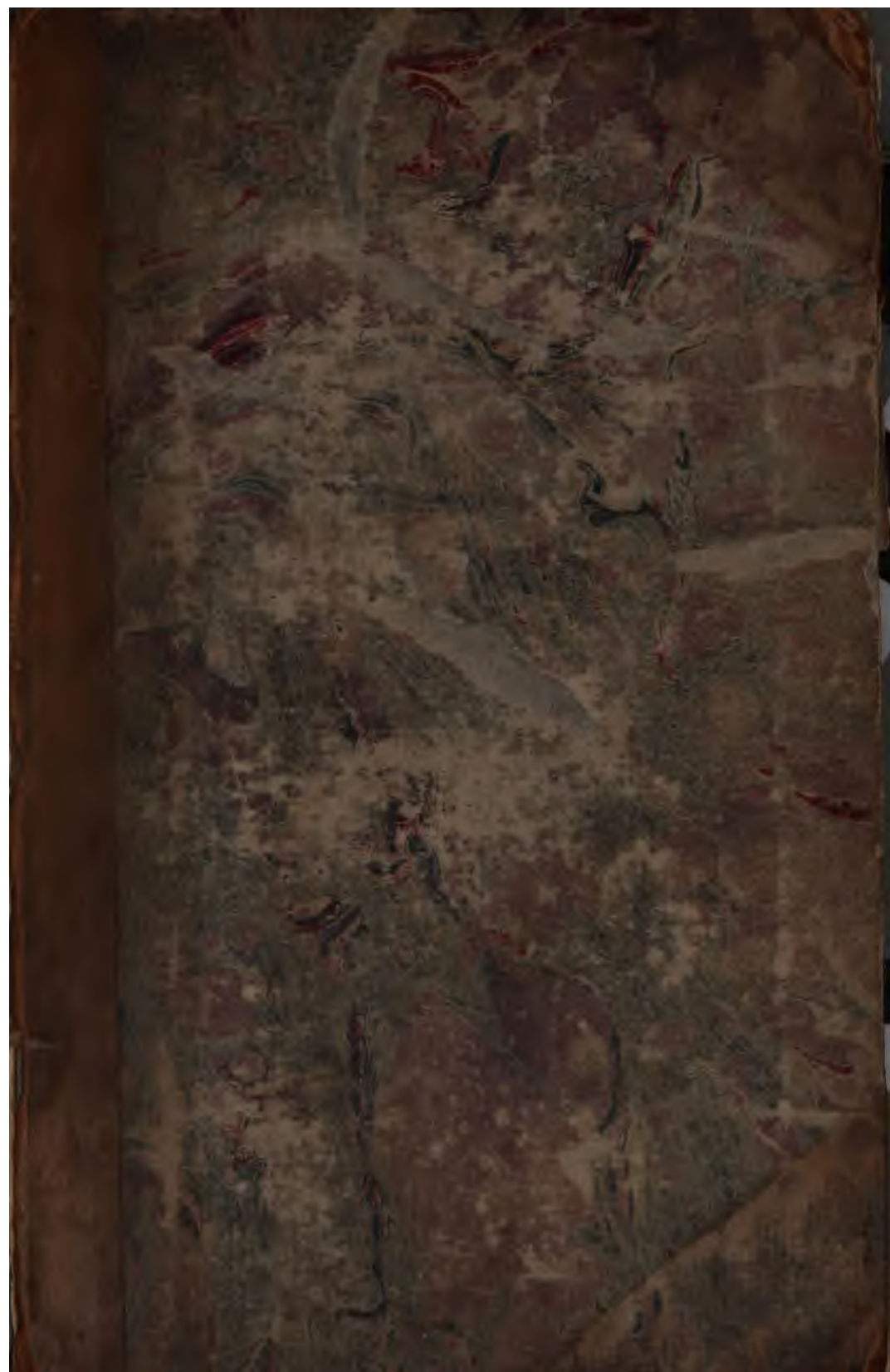
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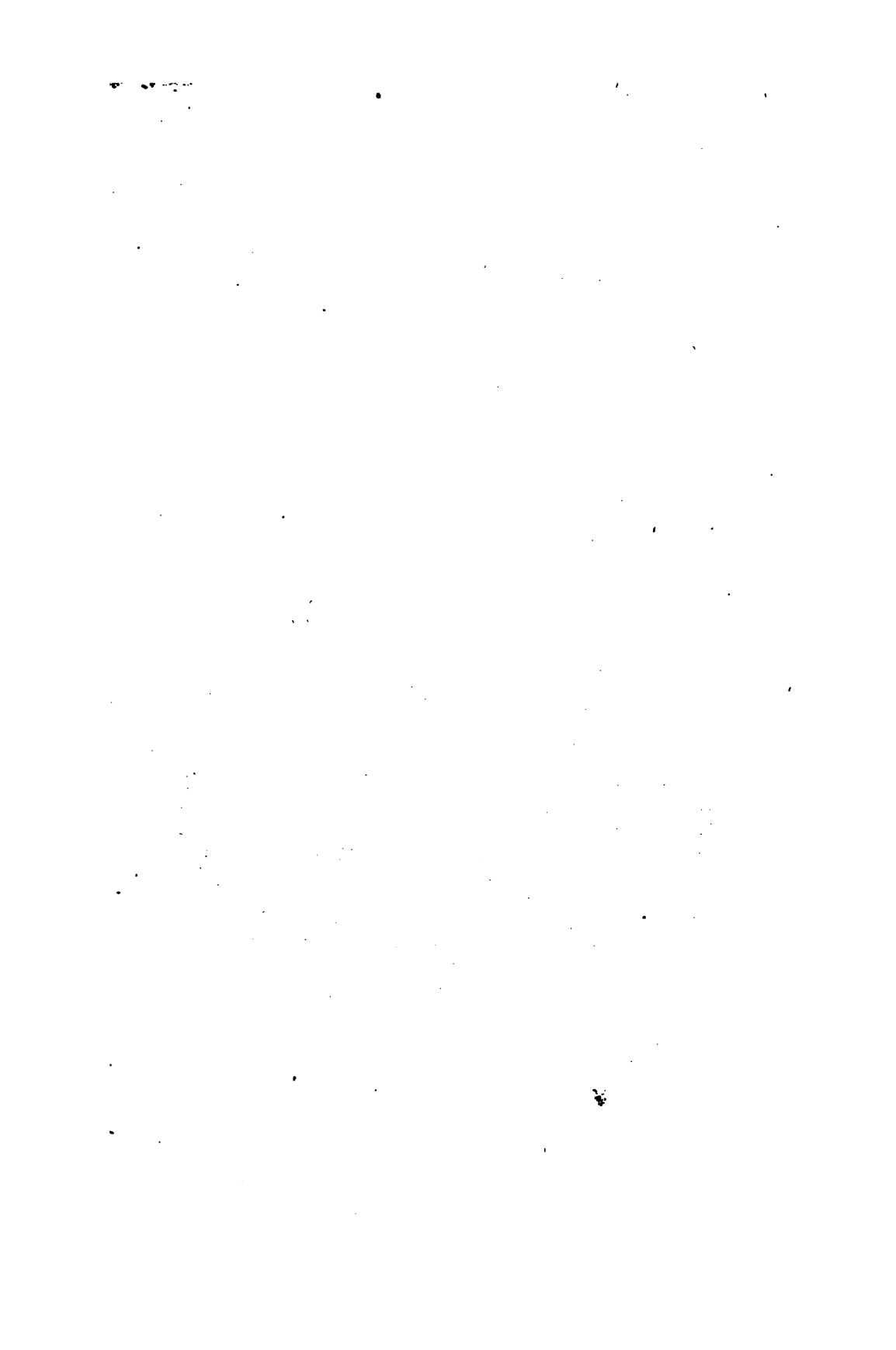


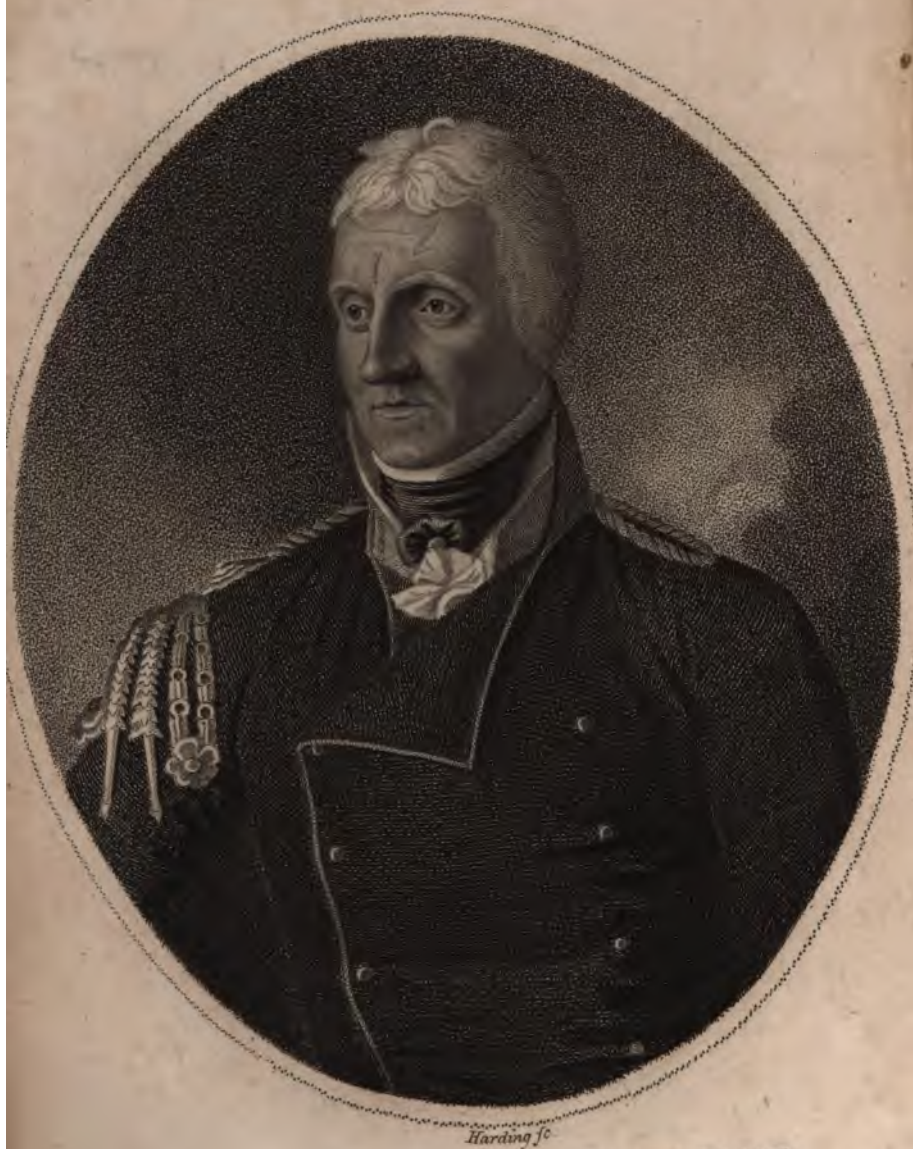




THE
L I F E
OF
MAJOR J. G. SEMPLE LISLE.







MAJOR JAMES GEORGE SEMPLE LISLE

Pub.^d September 1 1799. by W. Stewart 194 Piccadilly.

THE
L I F E
OF
MAJOR J. G. SEMPLE LISLE;
CONTAINING
A FAITHFUL NARRATIVE
OF HIS
ALTERNATE VICISSITUDES OF SPLENDOR AND
MISFORTUNE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

THE WHOLE INTERSPERSED WITH
INTERESTING ANECDOTES,
AND
AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS OF IMPORTANT PUBLIC
TRANSACTIONS.

Aspera multa
Pertulisti, adversis rerum immerfabilis undis.

HORACE.

LONDON:

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Such as it has really been, he lays it before the world, ready to receive from the impartial voice of the Public that praise or that censure to which he may be found entitled.

To the republic of letters he feels the necessity of apologizing for any inaccuracies which may be found in the composition. Born a soldier, though happy in an excellent education, the profession of arms engaged his entire soul; something must, therefore, be allowed for the production of one no way in the habit of writing beyond private correspondence or military orders. Besides, ever accustomed to execute his ideas with rapidity, he confesses his want of patience to touch, retouch, and ponder, words and syllables; but though his periods may want that harmonious chime which amuses the ear, they shall never be deficient in truth and candour.

The many exalted characters whose names are introduced in this work, will, the Author trusts, excuse the freedom he has used with them; he has, indeed, had the honour of standing by their sides in the field of battle and in the drawing-room; and he hopes, that
not

not one of them will be ashamed of appearing along with him on paper.

In some parts he has, however, suppressed circumstances which, though highly honourable to himself, are nevertheless improper for publication; but when his readers reflect, as he hopes they will have the goodness to do, that he has been entrusted with important state secrets, by the most potent Princes in the world, they would, he is sure, consider him as far lost to all honour, indeed, should he suffer them to escape him, merely to gratify his own vanity.

Finally, should any material fact be misstated, which may easily happen to any one who writes from memory only, he will readily and thankfully rectify his mistake on being informed of it. Of those despicable scribblers, who, without knowledge of him or his history, have dared to publish their anonymous libels, he shall, at present, take very little notice; though, perhaps, some future day he may recompence them as they deserve.



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ERRATA.

PAGE 65, LINE	5, <i>for was, read were.</i>
89,	3, <i>for high justice, read the executioner of high justice.</i>
90,	9 from bottom, <i>dele</i> to them.
—	—, <i>after they, read all.</i>
105	2, It was not <i>Maffena</i> who commanded, but another General whose name I cannot recollect.
112	4, <i>for Brunswic, read Orange.</i>
121	5, <i>for from, read for.</i>
126	5, <i>for drawn, read driven.</i>
273	10, <i>dele</i> and.
311	9 from bottom, <i>after</i> they, <i>read</i> therefore.
313	4, <i>dele</i> and.
314	4, <i>after</i> long, <i>read</i> strait.
315	2, <i>for</i> friends, <i>read</i> my friends.



CHAPTER I.

The author's birth, education, and military debüt in America in 1775.—Return to England in 1777.—Rencontre with the well known Mrs. Gooch.—Goes to Lisle in Flanders.—Adventure there, which obliged him to go to Tournay, the frontier town of the empire.

AMONG the throng of scribblers, who, without any personal knowledge of me, or my family, have done me the honour to write my history, there is a prodigious variety of assertion concerning my parentage. Some have asserted that my father was a farmer, some a tradesman, some a clergyman, and some, I believe, will hardly allow me any father at all. Had my family no more reason to be ashamed

B

of

of me than I have of it, I might here produce a long roll of honourable and virtuous ancestry: suffice it to say, that my descent is too well known to every family of distinction of my country to render it necessary to refute the calumnies of anonymous libellers.

My education was what *some* of my biographers have condescended to allow, of the genteelst sort; and my friends gave me that encouragement which is naturally given to lads of parts, an encouragement that too often leads into unconquerable habits of expence and dissipation; and a too liberal supply from my opulent connexions made me equally careless and extravagant. With the advantage of at least a tolerable figure, great activity, and a perfect knowledge of all the polite manly exercises, I very early was initiated into the gay world. My skill in arms introduced me to the most celebrated professors of that art; as a horseman, I likewise received the highest praises; and naturally gay, fiery, and haughty, my vanity was proportionably inflated, till it laid the foundation of my subsequent misfortunes and disgrace.

It would be mere impertinence to take up the time of my readers with details of juvenile amusements and juvenile amours: and it would be downright cruelty to expose names yet unpolluted

polluted by the pestilent breath of slander; I shall therefore confine myself to observing, that my military *début* was made in America, in the year 1775, at the age of sixteen.

My adventures there were not much varied beyond those of my brethen of the same rank. I was, however, taken prisoner in 1776; but was relieved early in 1777, by Lord Percy, whose retirement from the army his country may justly regret, and Sir Peter Parker, then commanding at Rhode Island. I was soon after wounded; and was in consequence sent home from New York, in the Bridget of Liverpool, Captain Gilbody.

I landed in Ireland, and came from thence to Wales and to Bath; where I met with the beautiful, but unfortunate, Mrs. Gooch. I was in the rooms; but as my wound rendered dancing impossible, a party at picquet was proposed, which laid the foundation of a connection that induced me to retire to Lisle in Flanders. My amour with Mrs. Gooch having been related by the lady herself, in her Memoirs, though not *quite correctly*, I leave as it is: nevertheless, my reader may perhaps smile with me at her boast of "then, and not till then, I fell," when they are informed that our joint ages did not amount to forty.

Had she not mentioned uncandidly a transaction which I cannot think upon without regret, I should have wished it to have been buried in eternal silence; I mean where Mr. K. and myself are reported by her to have used unfair conduct to a young Irishman in a duel. The young gentleman, who was about my own age, undoubtedly fell; but nothing unfair took place: the whole business passed in the presence of Mr. D., a respectable inhabitant of London, who is yet alive; and him I expect and entreat to expose me as a villain if there was any foul play on my side. Besides, if there needs a stronger proof of my conduct, I myself carried the unfortunate man to his lodgings, where, at his own request, I remained with him several hours, till prudence obliged me to provide for my own safety from the effects of the law, by leaving Lisle, and retiring to Tournay. The process was carried on in Mr. K.'s absence and mine; and we were, as Mrs. G. justly relates, hung in effigy, the form of declaring outlawry there; a ceremony which I was rash enough to come into Lisle to see; a rashness which had nearly cost me dear, for I was discovered, and had much difficulty to effectuate my retreat to the Imperial territory: and after remaining some time at Tournay, I went to Brussels.

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CHAP. II.

Goes to Brussels.—Interview with Mr. Fitzherbert, now Lord St. Helens.—Leaves Brussels, and accompanies the army of Frederic the Great, and the Empress Queen of Hungary to the field.—Returns through Holland to England.—Marries.—Goes to France; and from thence, at the instance of the Duchefs of Kingston, to Russia.—Adventure at Riga in Livonia.—His arrest there.—Goes to St. Petersburg, and is introduced to Prince Potemkin and the Empress.—Curious particulars of the Duchefs of K.'s family.

AT Brussels, in the beginning of 1778, I met with General Lockhart and the Earl of F——r, by whom I was presented to Mr. Fitzherbert, now Lord St. Helens, then Resident at that court. I remained in Brabant till Frederic the Great marched against Maria Teresa, the Empress Queen: I followed these armies during that little war, which as the Germans themselves call the "*Kartoffel Krieg*," or *Potatoe War*, I pass over as of no importance to my readers. I held no considerable situation at that time; but I gained some experience by observing the manœuvres of the King of Prussia and the celebrated Laudon.

In 1779 I returned to England, by the way of Holland; and passing immediately again to the continent, I met at Harwich with an amiable and accomplished young lady, of a highly respectable family, then with her mother and sister, going to the Hague: with her I formed a connection of the tenderest nature, which in a short time terminated in our marriage, and return to Britain. After sojourning some months in London, I went with my wife to France; where I was presented by her to the Dukes of Kingston. I remained in that country some time; when being solicited by the Dukes to go to Russia, I consented to follow her, as I was obliged, by affairs of my own, to take a circuitous route to Prussia; from whence I went through Courland to Riga, the frontier town of the Russian territory, where I had letters of recommendation to all the principal merchants.

At Riga, according to my usual busy fate, I met with an adventure worth relating, as it, perhaps, served as the foundation of my future fortune in that country. A person of the name of *Sauvage*, a Hanoverian, and who had been employed by the British government, during the administration of Lord North, to recruit in Germany, was then in that city; where he passed for a Major of the British army, and
wore,

wore the uniform of the Guards. Owing to some improprieties of his conduct, which I considered as incompatible with the character of a British soldier, I found myself obliged to call upon him for an explanation; which he was not only unable to give, but behaved with such insolence that I was reduced to appeal to the military judicature of the sword. His wife, who was in an inner apartment, (for this happened in a large anti-chamber at an inn,) hearing what was going forward, sprung out; and, with all the fury of a tygres, entangled me in a no very loving embrace. Swords being already drawn, there was no time to trifle; so, somewhat roughly disengaging myself from the lady's arms, I beckoned her husband into the street, and fairly locked her into the room. I was making the best of my way to the ramparts, when he told me there was a shorter cut; on which I followed him till he stopped opposite a guard, when, without further ceremony, he began to roar out for assistance. I went home to my inn, where I had not long been when the Deputy-Governor, (who commanded in the absence of the Governor-General of Livonia, Brown,) sent a guard for me, at the instance of the Fort-Major, who was a countryman of Sauvage's. The officer of the guard acted with great politeness; and took my word

that I would attend at the Governor's house: I went accordingly, and found the Lieutenant-Governor talking with some officers in the yard. His behaviour to me was rude, which did not produce any excess of politeness on my side: he did not take off his hat to me, and I refused to do so to him; in fine, without any examination had, I was put under an arrest.

My recommendations to the British merchants had been of the strongest kind; and they no sooner heard of my adventure, than they offered and became my securities until the Governor-General, who was daily expected, should return. I then sent off an express to the Duchess of Kingston, at her seat near Narva in Livonia; and Sauvage's wife set off in person for St. Petersburg.

The Lieutenant-Governor, finding me so respectably supported, and that I was provided with the necessary passports for entering the country, made little objection to leaving me at large in the town until the Governor-General should return. Mrs. Sauvage, who in the scuffle had received some slight hurt in her face, having procured recommendations from the Fort Major, (who himself began to be apprehensive for his own safety, from the steps he had taken against me,) laid her complaint before the Empress, through the Chancellor Count Osterman,

Osterman. The Empress heard it with attention; and as Mrs. Sauvage had suffered by the frost in her journey, by which she had nearly lost one of her ears, she had an apartment ordered for her at an hotel; and one of the Empress's physicians, Dr. Rogerfon, to attend her. In the mean time, General Brown, the Governor-General, arrived, examined into the business between Sauvage and myself, and sent a true statement of the facts to the court; the consequence of which was, that Sauvage and his family were conducted out of the country, and I received permission to proceed to St. Peterburgh, which I immediately did; and the Duchess of Kingston's house laying in my way, I paid my respects *en passant* to her Grace.

On reaching the capital of Russia, I waited on Sir James Harris, then his Majesty's Envoy at that court, who had been made acquainted with my adventure at Riga; and who was so pleased with my conduct, that he, without a moment's delay, presented me to Prince Potemkin. After some conversation with that illustrious general on my affair, and on general military subjects, he asked me if I would serve in the Russian army, which I consented to do; and was that same evening appointed Captain. My appointment was extremely rapid, for the Prince having called for his Secretary, spoke a
few

few words to him in Russian, which I did not then understand; the latter retired, and in a few minutes returned with my commission ready made out, which he handed to the Prince, who immediately presented it to me, acquainting me at the same time, that he had done me the honour to place me in his suite, and that he gave me two months leave of absence to prepare myself for the ensuing campaign.

I remained a few days in town to be presented to her Majesty the Empress, and then returned to the Duchess of Kingston to acquaint her with my good fortune. I took with me Thomas Mackenzie, Esq. Brigadier of Marines, and Captain of the Russian navy, an officer who, both as a private gentleman and a soldier, has ever held the highest place in the esteem of all that have the happiness to know him; he had not before been introduced to her Grace.

I was a good deal surpris'd, that the Duchess did not receive the news of my sudden and honourable appointment with all the warmth I expected; but, as I afterwards found, that she wished to retain me about her person, the mystery was cleared up. The night of our arrival at the Duchess's seat was fortunate to Mackenzie; for as we were enjoying our bottle, a messenger brought him down a brevet of Rear-Admiral, and the intelligence that he was
appointed

appointed to command in the Black Sea: he therefore immediately repaired to St. Petersburg, and soon afterwards to his station.

I continued with the Duchefs. In her company were a French lady Mad. de Porquet, sister to Monf. de Cocove, and a French Secretary, whose name I do not recollect. At my arrival, I found they had all quarrelled, and were not upon speaking terms. Mad. de Porquet was in fact so much chagrined, she kept her room. On which the Duchefs, in all the native violence of her disposition, *locked her in*, and actually detained her a prisoner in that state for some days, in spite of all my remonstrances.

The poor French Secretary was so much terrified at these tyrannical proceedings, that he ran away the same night, without even venturing to take a great coat with him. In an almost desolate country, in the dead of winter, and without the smallest knowledge of the language, he had to travel twenty miles to the Baron Rosen's, who, in that dreary spot, is called a *neighbour*. He luckily overtook a peasant with a sledge by the way, to whom, by repeating the name of *Rosen*, he fortunately made known his wishes; and being placed in the vehicle, and covered with a sheep skin, he,
at

at length, reached the Baron's more dead than alive.

As soon as we arrived, the Baron sent a servant to me with a letter, wherein he states that he could not refuse the poor Secretary the rights of hospitality; adding, that he could with the Duchefs would abstain from such acts of violence; and concluded, by desiring me to endeavour to effect a reconciliation between them. I laid this letter before the Duchefs, who sent me to the Baron's; but the Frenchman would not listen to the proposals I was authorized to make, which were to pay him his wages, but persisted in his intention of going to Petersburg to interest the French Minister in his cause.

I returned next morning, and prevailed upon the Duchefs to permit Mad. de Porquet to go where she would. This lady, who, it seems, had preconcerted matters with her lover, the Secretary, went to St. Petersburg, and laid her complaint before the Marquis de Verac, the French Minister there. The Marquis apprised the Duchefs of the complaint, and I was sent to St. Petersburg to negotiate for her with them; the consequence of which was, that the Duchefs was to pay Madame de Porquet six hundred ducats in specie, on condition

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of immediately returning to France; and I was, at the expence of the Duchefs, to conduct her to Dantzic, whether I was going to meet my own family, to bring them to the house which the Duchefs had given me on her estate, within a short league of that she inhabited.

The Duchefs had taken my receipt for the money with which she had entrusted me to pay Madame de Porquet on her arrival at Dantzic, charging me to take her receipt there; a seeming reconciliation then took place, and Madame de Porquet staid a few days at her Grace's seat to pack up her effects. In the mean time, the Duchefs ordered her steward Mr. Wilkinson to prepare one of those carriages, which are used in Russia in time of snow, and which resembles the body of a coach, only much longer, to be got ready. These carriages are furnished with beds; and when Mr. Wilkinson informed her Grace that the machine was ready with two beds, she smartly enough replied:—"You have done well, Mr. Wilkinson, but your precaution was unnecessary; I will answer for it, one bed will serve them before they reach Dantzic."—

Having obtained, with my commission, two months leave of absence, and permission to leave the country, I set forward without any further application to court.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The author performs his mission to Dantzic, and returning is met by a messenger to hasten his journey.—Arrives at St. Petersburg, and is ordered to wait the Empress's dispatches.—The Duchess of Kingston's conduct.—Determines to remove his family to Narva, on account of the Duchess's tyrannical disposition.—Leaves the capital, with permission to go to the Duchess's house.—Laws respecting travellers in Russia.—Quarrels with the Duchess.—Removes his family to Narva, and sets out for Cherson.

I PAID the money on my arrival at Dantzic to Madame de Porquet, and took her receipt for it, according to the Duchess's directions. My family were waiting for me; I however found it necessary to remain some days there; and I was further so delayed by the badness of the weather and roads, that my two months had some time expired. In the mean time, Prince Potemkin, finding himself obliged from circumstances to set off immediately for the army, had applied to Sir James Harris to know where I was. In consequence an express was sent off for me, (whom I met in Livonia, about a hundred

dred miles from the Ducheſs's), to acquaint me with the Prince's orders, and to haſten my journey.

The inſtant I met the courier I left my family to come forward as their heavy carriages would permit them; and proceeded with the utmoſt rapidity to the Ducheſs's houſe. She expreſſed much ſatisfaction at my arrival, and the great anxiety the length of my abſence had given her on account of the Prince's want of me. Without more loſs of time I ſet off for St. Petersburgh. I immediately went to Sir James Harris, who ſeemed hurt at my delay, and told me that there were inſtructions for me at the War Office, but that Potemkin was gone: he preſſed my departure to follow the Prince, adding, (for I will uſe his own words,) " You may make your own terms with him; he cannot do without you."

I went immediately to court, and received inſtructions to wait her Majeſty's diſpatches, with which I was to follow the Prince to Cherſon, who had taken the circuitous road of Warſaw. Having received theſe directions, and not being able to leave St. Petersburgh without the commands of the Empreſs, I wrote a letter to my wife, to endeavour to ſooth the feelings which an amiable, virtuous, and affectionate woman muſt naturally feel at the departure

ture of the husband she loved, and who doated upon her: nor was it an easy task to frame a letter capable of producing such an effect, in a country where she knew not a face except the Duchefs, nor could make her desires known in the language of the place. I represented to her that my stay at the army would be but short; that my being in the suite of the Prince would insure me from much danger, even supposing there should be any war, which I did not imagine there would, for that certainly the Crimea would be taken possession of without a shot being fired: finally, I promised to see her previous to my departure, and bring her to Narva, where I had already sent to take a house.

The same courier carried a letter to the Duchefs, in a somewhat more military style: I dwelt upon the valour of Potemkin, and his turn for enterprize; I declared that, not contented with following where he would lead, I would endeavour to be foremost in the field of glory; for that I was determined to shew the Russians that a Scot was neither their inferior in supporting fatigue, nor encountering danger.

The Duchefs betrayed the confidence I had reposed in her; for when my wife shewed her the letter she had received from me, and even which was hardly enough to enable her to support my departure, her *Grace*, with that hypocritical

critical cant she so well knew how to assume, inveighed against my false representations; and, by way of completing her cruelty, concluded by showing the letter she had received from me.

The effect of this frightful eclaircissement, upon the sensibility of a delicate woman, may be easier conceived than expressed. She wrote a letter to Sir James Harris, and another to myself, in the most pathetic terms that affection could possibly suggest. She expressed the most anxious sollicitude, lest the impetuosity of my temper should hurry me into unnecessary dangers; in fine, she wrote, to use Sir James's own words, "*as none but an Englishwoman could write.*"

It will be readily believed that the Duchess's behaviour to Mad. Porquet had not contributed to raise in my mind any high veneration for her character; and the idea of leaving a wife and children, whom I loved with the tenderest affection, in the power of a woman, who already had sported in the most unfeeling manner with her sorrows, became unsupportable. I had in fact dreaded something of the kind, and had taken a house at Narva, distant between twenty and thirty miles from the Duchess's estate, to serve as a retreat to my family; and I now resolved, without loss of time, to remove

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them

them thither. I therefore wrote to my wife to console her as well as I was able, telling her, that Sir James Harris had acquainted me with some passages of her letter, and desiring her to prepare for her departure without giving a hint of it to the Duchefs, till I should come down. In the course of a couple of days I was sent for to court to receive the dispatches of the Empress for Potemkin; it was then evening: my orders were to leave St. Petersburg that night. A sum of money was paid me by the Secretary of War for the expences of so long a journey, and a Serjeant of the Guards (who bears the rank of Lieutenant in the army,) and who spoke the French and German languages, was ordered to attend me. My route to the army lying through Narva, and my dispatches requiring no haste (as it was expected I should be at Cherson before the Prince got there,) on taking leave of her Majesty, I solicited permission to go off my road to the Duchefs's house for twenty-four hours; this favour was benevolently granted; and I went to take leave of Sir James Harris, and then to the hotel where my carriage and servants were, from whence I meant to have set off immediately. While my equipage was preparing, I was prevailed on by some officers to gamble; at which we continued till it was announced to me that all was ready. Unfortunately

hately, however, I had not only lost all the Empress's money, but all my own; and had no other resource but to send immediately to Sir James Harris to acquaint him with my embarrassment; who immediately, though he was then in bed, dispatched his butler to me with five hundred roubles. Thus reinforced, I instantly set off.

When I reached Narva, I left there my military equipage, and went in a small carriage of the country to the Duchess's seat. I found my wife and family already in the house her Grace had given us. I then began to explain the motives of our intended removal; I told her Grace that, considering the hazardous service I was going upon, and that no military man who was going to the field of action could ever say his return was certain, I thought it necessary my wife should have some establishment to call a home; that though she could as often and as long as she chose take up her abode with her Grace, still, should any thing happen to me, Narva would always, particularly in the event of the Duchess leaving Russia, prove a retreat where she would find friends of her own nation; whereas, in her present situation, she was an entire stranger to every one, nor had more than one servant who understood the language of the country. To this the Duchess replied,

first with a flood of tears, and a complaint that I was depriving her of her only companion ; and then (finding me unmoved) with a torrent of abuse that would have done credit to Billingsgate, concluded with saying, we might both go to the d—l.

It is necessary to inform my readers that, by the laws of Russia, no person can travel from the capital without a passport describing his route, which he is not at liberty to alter ; in the country, travellers must have a pass from the person whose estate they may have been upon, before they quit it, or no post-master dare furnish them with horses. On my application at the post-house, which was not above half a mile from the Duchefs's, I was not only told that they durst not supply me with horses, but that they had her Grace's exprefs prohibition to that effect. I answered the post-master, that I should remove that difficulty by taking his or her horses by force. I instantly removed my family to the post-house. I just then recollected that I had given the receipt I had obtained from Madame de Porquet at Dantzic to the Duchefs, without her Grace having returned me that which she required of me, when she entrusted the money to my charge. I begun to be apprehensive of her making a bad use of it ; I therefore wrote a note to Mr. Wilkinson her steward, requesting

ing my receipt. The Duchefs shuffled with excuses, that she could not come at it; that she would give it to my wife, and such like evasions; and instantly jumping into her carriage, drove into the woods, to prevent further applications on my part. I sent one of her own servants after her Grace to tell her, that unless I had my own receipt, or a discharge from her in one hour from that time, that I would force my way into her house, and carry off her *cassette*, which I would lay at the Prince's feet, and intreat him to judge between us. In a few minutes, Mr. Wilkinfon brought me the receipt I demanded, and I set out for Narva, where I rested scarcely one moment before I proceeded for Cherfon to join the Prince.

CHAP. IV.

The author arrives at Cherson, and delivers his dispatches to Prince Potemkin.—An express arrives from the Duchess of Kingston complaining of him to the Prince, which is received and answered in a very mortifying manner.—Some account of Cherson.—The Corfés Expulsés, a corps of them given to the author to organize.— Astonishing atchievement of the Empress in building ships.—Mode of launching and navigating them down the river Nieper.—Admiral Mackenzie and Captain Taite.—Military arrangements.—Mutiny among the Corfés Expulsés.

IN spite of my delays, and the heaviness of my equipage, having with me all my baggage for the field, I reached Cherson in twelve days from the time of my leaving St. Petersburg. I there found the Prince, who had not arrived many hours before me. I delivered to him the packet I had received from the Minister of War Count Mouschkin Pouschkin, and the letter from her Majesty, the contents of which was not less pleasing to myself than the Prince, as the Empress speaking of me, concluded by saying, " May you in battle always have a man
" like

"like him by your side, and a friend like me
 "wherever you go."

Next day an express arrived from the Duchess for the Prince, with heavy complaints of my conduct to her, my delays upon the road, and a long string of &c.'s. This furnished matter of amusement to the Prince, who could not endure her; for she, partly through her ignorance of the Empress's permission for me to go out of my route, and partly through malice, had so caricatured the story, that it became the subject of laughter to all who heard it. To add to her mortification, he made me not only read it to him, but answer it forthwith; which I did in French to the following effect, sometime in the month of July 1783: "Madam, I had the honour to receive your dispatch from his Highness; I had also the honour to read it to him; and am, by his Highness's commands,

"Madam, &c. &c. &c."

Cherson is a town which the Empress built on the river Nieper several leagues above its mouth, with the view of forming a new colony there; for this purpose she issued, by her Minister at Leghorn, a proclamation to the exiled Corsicans, by the title of *Les Corsés Expulsés*; under which name persons of all nations assembled at her rendezvous, and were transported by the way of the Dardenelles and Black Sea to

Cherson. Of the real Corsicans, about 250, who were all military, she formed a corps, distinguished by the appellation of Royal Corsicans, which I was directed to organize. Here it was the Empress put in practice the exalted scheme of building ships of war for the expedition on the Black Sea. They were constructed upon a river scarcely navigable for a small sloop, the wood and iron for their construction brought from a distance of 700 miles up the country, some of it much farther, and every gun came not much less than 1000 miles by land. The mode of launching and navigating these vessels down to the sea was curious; the Nieper, as before observed, being extremely shallow, and not very broad, a sort of pool was first formed in the bed of the river opposite to the dock, then two large rafts, which were called *Camels*, were placed so as to receive the vessel as she slid from the stocks, from which she was eased down without much rapidity; being seated between the camels, as in a cradle, she was thus floated down the river past the Turkish fortrefs of Oschacow, and into the Black Sea. Had not I been an eye-witness to this stupendous work, I should hardly have ventured to have related it; it was truly worthy the comprehensive mind of such a sovereign; it completely formed a maritime barrier against her troublesome neighbours the
Turks,

Turks, and opened a channel for trade from her territories to the Mediterranean.

Admiral Mackenzie, whose name may truly be said to have graced an early part of this narrative, had gone round to the harbour of Acti-are, now called Sebastapole; he had there, with the rapidity which distinguished all his movements, begun to build a house for himself, marine barracks, hospital, store-houses, erect batteries, and put the harbour in a respectable state of defence.

A vice-admiral remained at Cherson with several captains, among whom was Captain, now Admiral Taite, who, at the time I am writing this, is lying with a Russian fleet, which he commands, at Yarmouth, a most amiable man and intelligent officer; for whom, in common with all who knew him, I entertained the highest esteem; an esteem which I exhibited in my usual imprudent manner, by visiting him at a time when we were directed not to go near his house, because he was sick (supposed to be of the plague, which had broke out among us) a precaution used to prevent the spreading of the infection: but, independent of his social qualities, he had another strong claim on me, he is a Scot. For this visit I was severely reprimanded by the General of the day, Solticoff, and dared not to approach the Prince for several days.

The

The now well-known Field-Marshal Suwarow, and Ramsay Count of Balmain, were already in the Crimea, whither Potemkin followed, leaving me behind to organize the corps of Royal Corsicans, and then to join him. The Prince of Wirtemberg, whose sister was married to the Grand Duke of Russia, arrived at Cherson about this time; he was then Lieutenant-General, and was left there by Potemkin to command the reserve.

My Corsicans, though brave fine fellows, were, as is their character, quite undisciplined; and, as they were the objects of curiosity to the whole army, our manœuvres were interrupted by the numbers thus drawn together; I therefore retired with them from the ground where the Russians lay to a little spot on the other side of the town, between that and the Bishop's palace, where I daily trained them.

To shew the turbulent disposition of the Corsicans, I shall give the following instance: I had given them permission to sell some old stores and copper kettles which they had brought with them in the ships, and for which we had no use. About the produce of these articles they disagreed. One evening, while I was at the Russian camp, on a visit to the Commanding General, a letter was delivered to me from the officer I had left on command, which I instantly

stantly read. By this I was informed that my camp was in confusion, and that the men were firing upon each other. Without saying one word to the general, I instantly rose from table, and having previously requested a colonel of infantry, whose regiment lay nearest me, to send a detachment of his men before day-light to surround my camp, I galloped home as fast as I was able. The night was dark; and I had a vast open common to pass: however, I reached my camp, being partly guided by the flashes and reports of the muskets. On my arrival I instantly began to fire among them with my pistols; and, as my voice was perfectly known, all was presently quiet, and each in his tent. I gave orders to be called at day-break; when asking the officer of the guard if he saw any thing near the camp, he told me there were some small bodies of infantry on three sides, the fourth being covered by the river; on which I ordered the drums to beat to arms. As soon as my men were on the parade, they were disarmed, and the cause of the quarrel enquired into; when the kettles, &c. appearing to be ALL they had fought about, the leaders were severely and instantly punished: thus tranquillity was restored.

CHAP. V.

Improvements in the Russian army by the author.—Remarks on military uniforms.—Russian peasants.—Remarks on the proper use of the bayonet in exercise.—A refutation of an anonymous libeller.—The author having compleated the organization of the Corsicans, sets off to the army in the Crimea.—His flattering reception.—Character of the commanders, Potemkin and Suwarrow.—Russian soldiers, their character and bardiness.

DURING my first conversations with Potemkin at Petersburg, he had asked my opinion of the Russian army; and I frankly told him that improvements might be made, in both their dress and manœuvres.

The Russian uniform consisted of a green coat, lined and faced with red, very tight, and so long that it incommoded the wearer, by beating on the calves of his legs; the breeches, which were also tight, did but barely cover the knee-joint; and as the Russian soldiers, both cavalry and infantry wear boots, though of a different form, a vacancy between the knee-welt of the breeches and the boots became unavoidable; the hat was very small, and unfit for

a covering in a cold country; on which account the soldiers added a piece of flannel on each side to cover the ears, and guard against the severity of the weather. This cloathing being very inconvenient, to shew the Prince my ideas on the subject, I had dresses made for myself and a private, of the uniform which is still retained, without any material alteration; and which was allowed to be at once elegant, convenient, and well adapted to the severities of the climate. I must here remark, that elegance should always, in some degree, be consulted in the formation of a military uniform; for if we wish the soldier to keep up that nicety of appearance which is so becoming in military men, we must make him proud of his own figure. In Russia this was more than any where necessary, for the peasantry, (who supply the recruits for the army), are the most slovenly of mortals; their outside dress being made of sheep-skin, which they wear with the woolly side inwards, unless here and there, in the vicinity of noblemen's seats, some have them of coarse cloth: yet such is the effect of making men pleased with themselves, that at present the Russian army may vie with any in the world, for appearance and subordination. The Prince, thinking to improve upon me, put in orders, (without my knowledge) that the hair of the soldiers should be

be cropped, and that the bayonet should only be fixed when they were about to charge the enemy. As I was the acknowledged author of the alteration in the uniform, these novelties were likewise attributed to me, and I was heartily abused for all. The cropping of soldiers' hair, (unless occasionally for a partisan's corps) I always disapproved, as by giving an opening to negligence, it serves to introduce slovenliness; and whoever will reflect for a single moment on the different poise of a musket with and without the bayonet fixed, as well as on the absolute necessity of learning to load and fire with fixed bayonets, will, I trust, suppose me incapable of proceeding on so erroneous a principle; and will, with me, think that the musquet and bayonet should be inseparable. Accordingly, in a few days, the *crops* were supplied with false tails; but I had some difficulty to prevail upon the Prince to reinstate the bayonet in its proper place.

I did not, till this moment, know what the author of the Life of the Empress Catherine II. (published by Longman of Paternoster Row, and Debrett of Piccadilly) has thought proper to say of me (vol. iii. p. 20. 2d edit.) respecting my situation with Prince Potemkin and the Dukes of Kingston:

“ By *his* advice the Prince introduced several
“ new

" new regulations into the army, both in regard
 " to dress and manœuvres; and had it not been
 " for some manœuvres of another nature, such as
 " writing to the Duchefs of Kingfton, that he
 " would come by night with fome foldiers, and
 " break into her houfe, unlefs ſhe ſent him a
 " certain ſum of money, &c. there is not a
 " doubt but he would ſoon have been raiſed to
 " the rank of a general officer, or appointed
 " conſul at whatever place he choſe."—He
 goes on to ſay, that, " After his diſmiſſion from
 " the confidence of Prince Potemkin, on his
 " way to England, Major Semple laid the mer-
 " chants of Petersburgh, Narva, Riga, &c. un-
 " der contribution by a variety of impoſtures."

It is the eternal fate of falſhood to contradict
 itſelf: and though I have given in the preced-
 ing pages an account of my affair with the Du-
 cheſs of Kingſton, which I challenge earth or
 hell to contradict, ſtill, as this worthleſs ſcrib-
 bler, who would tremble at my very ſhadow,
 may gain credit with ſome, I will, in one mo-
 ment, point out his abſurdities. Had I dared
 to have threatened the Duchefs of Kingſton, as
 he has aſſerted, a well-founded complaint (to-
 which my own letter muſt have given an irre-
 ſiſtible weight,) would have procured me a ba-
 niſhment for life to Siberia; beſides, this quar-
 rel happened before I joined the Prince at Cher-
 ſon;

son: and was it, I will ask, probable, that he would have received me into his favour, intrusted me with the organizing of a new corps, and afterwards treated me as will appear hereafter, had I been stained with robbery? As to my frauds on the merchants, *while I was in favour*, they might have been possible; but, *for a man disgraced*, they would have been an utter impossibility. Besides, I did not pass through, or near Riga; for I went from Petersburg to Narva, where I embarked, and went down the East Sea to Copenhagen.

Such pestilent libellers are unfit to be suffered in the world. Such have been my ruin; and the author of the above, who, I am informed, is a priest, certainly affords a shocking proof of that depravity which perhaps may, if ever I live to meet him, render his gown but an insecure protection. If he has any honour, let him contradict his unfounded assertions: but why should I ask him? Had he any honour, he would not have wrote it. One good, however, results from his scurrility: I am enabled by these anecdotes of myself, to judge of the authenticity of those parts of his history which I have not yet had time to look at.

Having trained and disciplined my Corsicans, I proceeded to the army, and joined the Prince on the heights above the town of Karasu-basar,
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in the Crimea; where my pride was not a little flattered by seeing the uniform of which I had given the model worn by an immense army, and my manœuvres adopted and applauded. I was then about twenty-five, and with my natural vanity, this distinction almost turned my brain, as it perhaps might have done to men much older and wiser than myself; and if I had no very great share of prudence in pecuniary matters before, this made me quite regardless of them.

I was now at the Prince's right-hand day and night; he loaded me with honours, and I left nothing in the line of duty undone to deserve them. Potemkin was justly placed among the first characters of this or any other age; brave, open, rough, and impetuous, he was first in every exploit of danger; sudden in his manœuvres, his plans were conceived and executed with unparalleled rapidity; in the field he knew no character but a soldier, nor could age or rank plead with him any excuse for relaxation from the rules of duty.

Suwarrow was with us, already acting a distinguished part. Bold and impetuous as his commander, he was indefatigable in duty, and seemed to aspire, by copying so great a master, at that rivalry of glory to which he has now arrived.

The Russian soldiers seem fitted by nature for war; their hardiness is unparalleled, as easily may be imagined from the manner in which they live. Their magazines are not as with other armies, deposited with even a finical care; their provision, which is rye meal, is piled up like pyramids in bags in the open air, where, by alternate exposure to rain and scorching sun, I have seen it so baked together that it was obliged to be heated out with axes. The raw meal is served out to the companies; and where they have no wood, (as was the case with us while in the environs of Cherson where no wood grows, (and the chips of the dock-yard hardly supplied the hospital and General Officers,) they collect weeds and the dung of the cattle, with which they heat it as well as they are able, and eat it half raw. They are not less hardy in their tents than in their eating; straw or blankets are never thought of by a Russian soldier: his cloak serves him at once for bed and for covering; and wrapped up in this, he lies down contented on the bare cold ground. As an instance of their contempt for these *luxuries*, I had entrusted a soldier with the care of a considerable number of valuable articles, at a time when I was at a distance from the Prince. I had got a trench dug in the earth to serve as my cellar; and

and over it a tent was erected, partly to serve as a storehouse, and partly as an habitation for the faithful veteran who was to guard my stores. Willing to make him in love with his duty, I had got raised for him a wooden bench, with a mattrafs to sleep on, which indeed, though a most vile one, cost me no small trouble to procure; but bad as it was, I concluded that he would esteem it a luxury. I was however mistaken; for about a week after, going to look at my waggons, &c. I saw a mattrafs laying like a piece of lumber. Enquiring how it came there, I was informed, that it belonged to the soldier I had placed on my cellar, whom I instantly sent for. Upon asking him how he came to throw away his mattrafs, he coolly said, that it was not fit for a soldier, and that he could not sleep upon it. I then went to see what he had substituted for this despised couch, and found a hard common straw mat of his own twisting.

Such is the real character of a Russian soldier, and to the portrait I can only add, that their fidelity is equal to their other qualifications, for desertions are hardly known among them: they are in short formed by nature, and education for the trade of war: for while they acquire hardness by their usual mode of living, their minds are not estranged from the paths

cannot say. The few remaining natives however shewed him much respect, and supplied him with all necessaries; and Admiral Mackenzie gave strict orders that he should not be molested.

While I was at Actiare, Mackenzie and myself received the compliments of some of the Tartar Chiefs of that country, together with a present of each a horse. Mine was very richly caparisoned indeed, but his was almost covered with silver. The saddle was of purple cloth, all studded over with silver nails, and from each side depended a huge stirrup of the same metal, made, as is the fashion of the country, the size and shape of the sole of the foot; nor were the crupper and bridle left without their due share of ornaments, which at every step made almost as much noise as the fore-horse of an English waggoner's team. Mackenzie eyed the gawdy beast with much pleasure, and in the presence of the whole company jogged my elbow, and, pointing a stirrup in his hand, said, "Take you the horse, I will have the "stirrups, by G—d; each of them will make "a pair of candlesticks:" had he said two pair, I do not think his calculation would have been extravagant.

I had been taken ill at Actiare with a sort of ague, which prevailed in the army, and on my

my return to Karazu-bazar, my disorder was very much increased; however, as I found the Prince just changing his position, great part of the army, and most of my own baggage already gone, I determined not to be left behind. Being too ill to mount my horse, I got a bed put into one of those carriages which are commonly used there, and ordered horses. I could get none but those of the irregular Cossacs, which were totally wild, and had hardly ever seen, much less drawn, a carriage before. My harness was of rope, such as I could pick up, and I was to be driven by a fellow equally unused to his business. My curious equipage had nearly made me violate a general order, by which we were forbidden to enter any house or town on account of the plague; for being laid in my bed with my valet, (an honest faithful Wirtemburgher, whom I had from the prince of that name, then along with us,) our cattle set off at a most furious rate. For some time they galloped along the precipice that almost overhangs the town of Karazu-bazar, till at length the carriage overturned, and we all tumbled down the steep; and had we gone a little further, should have fairly tumbled into the town. Of three horses which drew the carriage, two were killed on the spot, and my poor valet de chambre broke his arm; I escaped by being fairly turned out

with my bed into a bush; my Russian driver, who had received no hurt, comforted me, as he would have done, had we all broken our necks, with *Nebos! Nebos!* 'tis nothing! 'tis nothing! The Cossacs galloped on without taking the least notice, and supposing we must be all infallibly killed, coolly informed the officers at headquarters, that the English Adjutant with his *Kebeetky* had fallen down the precipice. This news reached the Prince's ears, and an officer with one of his Highness's carriages was sent to my assistance. I met the officer upon the road; for, resolved to shew the Russians that I was as indifferent to accidents as themselves, I lay quietly in the bush till a new carriage could be procured, and then remounting with my unfortunate valet, I resumed my journey with all the *sang froid* I could muster.

In the end of the winter of 1783 the Prince, whose fatigues had much exhausted him, retired from the Crimea to Krementchuck, to recruit his strength. In the mean time, Prince Alex. Potemkin, who had been sent against the Circassians, forced them to conclude a peace. They had, together with other petty states, been waging a pilfering war against Russia; but were now compelled to send the young Prince, son to the reigning Prince, to Potemkin as a hostage. He was accordingly put under the care
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of an officer of dragoons, and conducted towards Krementchuck, near which place I was appointed to receive him. On meeting him, then a boy, seven or eight years old, I informed him, through the medium of the interpreter, that the Prince-General, though much indisposed, and even confined to bed, meant to see him on his arrival; adding such other blandishments as were likely to soothe his mind. As we approached his Highness's quarters, which I pointed out to him, this young Circassian seemed quite distressed at the noise of the bell, worn by the shaft-horse of his carriage; and which is the distinguishing mark of an officer and the Imperial post. The amiable boy had no servant near him, and was too mild to ask such a thing of me; he therefore requested, by the interpreter, that I would allow him to alight and take off the bell, lest it might disturb the Prince who was sick. Immediately on my arrival I related this puerile anecdote to the Commander, who instantly received the young Tartar into his favour; and continued to shew him every mark of regard and attention.

We remained at Krementchuck some time in cantonments; when the affairs of the Crimea being settled, Potemkin returned to the capital. As I wished to visit some parts of the country,
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he gave me leave to proceed as I pleased. In my progress I again passed through Pultowa; and being more at leisure than when I came to the army, I visited with increased interest and attention the plain where the famous battle was fought between the Czar Peter the Great and Charles of Sweden. The mound still remains that was built with the bodies of the slain. On being dug into, it exhibits an awful *melange* of skeletons of men and horses, with the iron heels of boots, rusty spurs, and broken weapons.

Here it was that Charles XII. dismounted to charge a body of Russians, at the head of his own regiment of infantry. His orders were not to fire till he should command them; however, on approaching the enemy, they fired; but, though successful, the Swedish hero was so mortified at their disobedience, that he mounted his horse, and rode away without speaking one word.

On my arrival at Moscow, I paid my respects to Count Chernecheff, the Viceroy, who lived in a style of incredible magnificence. I had the honour of dining with him the day after my arrival. About a hundred guests sat down to table, behind each of whom stood one of the Count's own servants, in very splendid liveries; he himself was surrounded by a host of upper servants,

fervants, dressed in the most superb manner: indeed, beside a body guard, he kept no less than three hundred domestics.

At Moscow I met several cart-loads of English midshipmen; who being thrown out of employ by the conclusion of the American war, had entered into the Russian service. They were under the care of a serjeant and two marines, and were going to join Admiral Mackenzie on the Black Sea.

After having spent a few days at Moscow, I continued my route to St. Petersburg; and, having taken up my family at Narva, I reached the capital about the beginning of the summer 1784.

As it may probably interest my readers to learn a few authentic particulars of the great Potemkin, I shall here present them with some which are not known to the common herd of scribbling travellers, but my situation in his suite enabled me to collect.

His levée commenced about eight in the morning; at which time a little shabby anti-chamber, and a billiard room adjoining, were crowded with general-officers. These apartments, with a bed-room, were all he usually inhabited, though he had several magnificent ones in the same house: the way to those he occupied led through a suite of large rooms.

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The first enquiry made by those who appeared in the anti-chamber was, "In what humour is the Prince?" If it was known he was out of temper, it was not unusual for many of the visitors to depart immediately, well knowing that no good was to be done that day. Prince Serge Galitzin, who married one of the Prince's nieces, had the greatest influence; for his great liveliness, added to the high favour in which he stood, and which enabled him, like Sir James Harris, to make a visit any hour without ceremony, seldom failed to cure the gloom of Potemkin.

Nor was the dress of this renowned commander on these occasions less extraordinary than his apartments. It consisted of a loose *robe de chambre*, which in winter he wore of velvet, and in summer of silk or chintz, flowing round him; his neck and breast were bare; and his silk stockings hung about his heels. No Highlander had a more cordial hatred to a pair of breeches; these he never wore but when he dressed. His hair flowed about his head in a most disorderly state; and in this naked slovenly trim he would sit down to table with all the princes or general officers of Russia.

His behaviour at table was as far removed from the common road of life as his dress; sometimes he would sit sullenly without saying a word; and this was not without its due effect

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on the countenance and appetites of his guests: at others he was all gaiety, and kept the table in a roar, so that nobody could eat for laughing; and I have seen him more than once, after eating a few morsels, suddenly start-up, as if some important idea had struck him, and go into his bed-room. This was the signal for rising from table, for no one would sit when he was up; and the guests were expected to follow the Prince to take coffee: very often, indeed, when he retired with a frowning aspect, many of his visitors had not courage to follow, but took coffee in the anti-chamber; his favourites, however, never failed to stick close to him.

He was passionately fond of mimicry, and was himself a tolerable mimic. He actually raised a genius of this kind from Lieutenant to Lieutenant-Colonel for no other merit. This man was constantly kept attending in the anti-chambers; and was occasionally called upon to divert his patron by *taking off*, as the phrase is, all his acquaintance. I alone escaped; for having plainly told the silly buffoon, that if he presumed to take any liberties with me, I would chastise him, he prudently abstained, even though the Prince, (who had heard of my menaces, and wished to get him into a scrape,) often desired him.

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He had an extraordinary and whimsical manner of punishing his aides de camp, when they exhibited any thing unmilitary in their dress and behaviour. Instead of verbal reproof, he used to send them long disagreeable journeys, and would take care they should set off when least prepared. As an instance, a young gentleman who had lately been appointed, and who had no other recommendation than his being protected, appeared at dinner dressed in all the frivolity of a coxcomb: Potemkin looked at him with a louring obliquity of countenance, and ordered his secretary to prepare some dispatches. When these were ready, and before dinner was ended, the young beau was called for, and commanded instantly to step into a carriage that was waiting to carry them to the Viceroy of Moscow. There was no refusing or hesitating; and without even the necessary cloathing for the season, he had seven hundred verstes, (five hundred English miles) to travel in the dead of winter.

After the Prince's return from the Crimea, the first of the nobility gave him entertainments, in which invitation, his suite was always supposed to be included. The Duchess of Kingston, willing to immitate those of the most distinguished rank, and wishing at the same time to affront me, sent an invitation to Potemkin;
but

but instead of saying nothing about his suite, she sent letters of invitation to every individual officer except myself.

The Prince, who hated her, was resolved to take the same opportunity to mortify her that she had destined to gratify her malice to me; so contriving that I should be on his duty that day, he told me he would give me my revenge, for I should not only go with him, but I should sit next her at table.

Being on duty, I was obliged to attend him every where, and accordingly attended him to the Duchess's, where I, with the rest, proceeded to pay our compliments to her Grace. My brother officers she received with politeness, but when I approached to make my bow, she turned aside from me. When we went to be seated at table, the Prince, under pretence of speaking to me on business, kept me near him, and so arranged, that he seated me at the Duchess's elbow. It would be difficult to depict the manner in which she sat fretting and fuming all the time of dinner; however I was seated, and she could not move; she had therefore nothing to do but conceal her anger, and that, to a woman of her violence, was no easy task.

Though Potemkin had long ceased to be the lover of the Imperial Catherine, he still continued to govern; and though he was no longer

an inhabitant of the palace, his house had a private communication with the Empress's apartments. Potemkin had succeeded Orloff in her affections; and Lansköi, who had been a *Chevalier Garde*, with the intervention of a few short lived favourites, succeeded Potemkin. It would however be an endless task to enumerate all the lovers, who successively occupied the favourite's apartments. These consist of a suite of rooms on the *entre sol*, very magnificent, in which the *Favourite* (for so he is always called,) is little better than a state prisoner, as he cannot mix in society, and all his motions are closely watched.

Such was the ascendancy of Potemkin, that I have seen him tear an order signed by the Empress, and which only wanted his signature, because it had not been obtained by his means. The Empress frequently visited him in his own apartments, at which time we, (the officers of his suite) were ordered to attend in the antichambers; some times she came unawares, and then all fled helter-skelter, and, without waiting orders, repaired to our posts.

Besides the house where he usually lived, he had several rich palaces in the town, to which he occasionally went, and where he kept servants; he had also some splendid apartments in the house I have just described, but these he seldom

seldom used ualefs by chance in an evening, when he meant to receive visits in some sort of form, but still *sans culottes*.

Notwithstanding he treated officers in general very roughly, I always experienced politeness from him, nor was he even offended with me when I out-manœuvred him, which I once did as follows.

A Colonel who wished to have his regiment removed from the place where it was, to another province, applied to the Prince for an order, the Prince who had no favourable opinion of the Colonel, felt no wish to oblige him; nevertheless he told him to direct the secretaries in the office to make out the order; this was accordingly done, and, in the routine of business, presented with a mass of other papers to the Prince for his signature, which his Highness however evaded, and continued to do so for several months together, till at length it begun to look somewhat dirty and was easily distinguished.

When papers of this nature were brought before the Prince, it was customary with the officers to arrange them in such manner as they thought fit; and as the Colonel had applied to me, I endeavoured to place it uppermost; but the Prince continually disappointed me, by shuffling the papers together like a pack of cards,

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and whenever he came to this, he always threw it aside unsigned.

Anxious to serve the gentleman who had so long waited for it, I procured it to be new drawn out and somewhat altered in form; when placing it near the top, I presented the whole together. The Prince shuffled them as usual, but not expecting to see his old friend with a new face, and it happening to fall into his hands, he signed it without discovering what he had done; nor was he displeased when I told him (which I did some time after) how he had been tricked.

I was likewise treated with much distinction by the Empress, from whom I received many presents; one in particular I mention, not from its value, but because it does away every idea of my having left Russia in disgrace; she gave me, for some little services I had rendered, a present of 500 ducats of Holland in specie, a very few days before my departure. The court of the Empress was very splendid, but she was herself a wonder of regularity and exertion. Every morning at five her Secretary (Besborodko) attended her, at six the intendant general of police and others had their audience and received their orders. She dined precisely at twelve, and every evening at nine there was a supper for the party at court. The Empress amused herself with
walking

walking about, till she saw the guests seated, and then retired without saying a word or being observed by the company.

The great encouragement I had hitherto received, had naturally encouraged me to splendid living; few can bear the idea of retrenching, and I am unfortunately not one of that self-denying class. While I had the Duchefs of Kingstons house, it saved me much money, but now, though I myself had a lodging and table at the Prince's, I was obliged to provide quarters for my family at an enormous expence, for houses are not easily to be hired at St. Petersburg. Besides, the day of active service was over, and the Prince, though he treated me with much politeness, did not find me the indispensable officer I once was; I therefore obtained leave to retire to Narva, and soon after from the service.

I immediately sailed from Narva to Copenhagen, furnished with letters of recommendation for Prussia from several of the most distinguished characters at the Russian court; particularly from the Count de Goertz, minister from Berlin, to his brother, then Major-General of cavalry and Aid-du-Camp General to Frederic the Great.

CHAP. VII.

The author arrives at Copenhagen just after the revolution there.—Anecdotes of the King of Denmark.—Goes to Prussia.—Ceremony of entering Potsdam.—Frederic the Great's mode of receiving reports.—Waits on Comte de Goertz.—Etiquette of presentation to the King.—Meets several distinguished characters.—The Hereditary Prince's apartments described.—Receives permission from the King to attend his manœuvres.—Presented to the Queen, at the palace of Shöen Hausen, near Berlin.—Accompanys the Prince on some private expeditions.—Is ordered to leave Potsdam.—The order revoked next day.—Description of Potsdam.—Descriptions and anecdotes of Frederic the Great.—Excellence of the Prussian troops.

I ARRIVED at Copenhagen in September 1784, and was received in a very flattering manner by several persons of distinction; here I met that worthy and exalted character, Hugh Elliot, Esq. the British Minister at the court of Denmark. To this gentleman's friendship I have the highest obligations; his praises I need not write, they are in the mouths of all who knew him; but I should be even more lost to honour
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and gratitude than calumny has dared to represent me, did I not here in the most public manner return him my most sincere thanks for the almost innumerable favours he has done me, though I will not pain his generous mind by a recapitulation of them.

The little revolution of Denmark, if indeed it merits that name, had just taken place, and the Queen-Mother, to whose tyranny the late Queen owed her misfortunes, had been banished to an estate some miles from Copenhagen. Affairs had been placed in the hands of the celebrated Bernsdorff, and a law was passed (on account of the King's weakness, which had induced him to give his signature to any thing laid before him) that no edict should be valid unless countersigned by the Prince Royal.

The King whose derangement had rather reduced him to the state of boyhood than deprived him of reason, did not much relish this arrangement, though he knew it would be in vain to make complaints. He however contrived to shew his dissatisfaction; for one evening having a number of papers to sign, he desired they might be left till morning, when they should be ready. In the morning the Minister went to receive them, but to his great surprize, he found the King had somewhat exceeded his promise; the papers were indeed signed, but his Majesty had

made an addition to his name, and signed them *Christian and Company*. A thousand droll anecdotes might be related of this monarch, but I cannot consent to raise a laugh at the expense of fallen worth and greatness.

Having passed some time at Copenhagen, and the time of the King of Prussia's evolutions being at hand, I set off for Berlin. I crossed the Belt, and went through Pomerania to Potsdam, the residence of Frederic the Great.

Knowing the customary mode of presentation and the discipline practised here, I was not surprised at the strictness with which I was examined at the gate of the garrison. Every stranger is asked his name, his age, to whom recommended, his business in the garrison, and several other questions of the same nature. On being asked "What are you?" I answered "A Scots Highlander." "Whence came you?" "From the Black Sea." "What is your rank?" "Major of the Russian Army and Aid-du-camp to Potemkin." "What is your business here?" "To complete my education as a soldier under the first master in the world, your King." "Have you any letters for the King?" "No; but I have for several officers, particularly Count de Goertz, his Majesty's Aid-du-Camp General." "What inn do you go to?" Having answered all these questions, I was suffered to proceed.

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The accounts given by all strangers are laid before the King; and are, if there is any thing extraordinary in the report or person, noticed by his Majesty. The old warlike monarch used to receive reports in the most perfect military style; for however engaged in study or business, his *paraphernalia* of sword, cane, hat, and gloves, always lay so that he could reach them in a moment. A single page waited in the anti-chamber; and when any reports were brought, announced them to the King, who putting on his hat, cane, and gloves, and sticking his sword by his side, made a military hobble, (for age at that time prevented him from raising his boots,) into the anti-chamber. Here the great Frederic, with all martial form, stood with his hat in his hand till the officer had made his report; and then facing about, he retreated in the same manner he had before advanced.

As soon as I had dressed myself, which in compliment to the King, I did in the Prussian style, with boots half way up my thigh, and a *queue* down to my rump, I waited on those to whom I had letters, particularly the Count de Goertz, his Majesty's Aid-du-Camp. I asked him how I might accomplish the object of my voyage to Potsdam. He informed me, that for persons who came recommended it was the etiquette to write to the King, and ask his per-

mission to be presented to him, and to appear at his parades and manœuvres.

I immediately went home, wrote a few lines to the King, addressed, (as the Count de Goertz had instructed me,) simply *au Roi*; and sent my letter by my own servant, in the usual way. Next morning, at six o'clock, I received an answer, brought to me at my hotel by the King's running footman. The letter was in amount as follows;

" MAJOR SEMPLE,

" It is with pleasure I permit you to follow me to the manœuvres of my troops. As to the presentation, you must address yourself to Count de Goertz, my Aid-du-Camp General, who is charged with such affairs. Upon which, (Major Semple) I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

" FREDERIC."

This laconic epistle was somewhat curious in its form, for it was begun so close to the top of the paper that there was hardly room for the letters. About an hour after it reached me, I received a visit from Count de Goertz, to whom his Majesty had wrote concerning me, signifying his intention of receiving me that same day,
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at eleven o'clock; and at the parade I was presented to the Prince.

When these presentations were over, and the parade ended, the King's running footman met me in my way, giving me an invitation to dine with the Prince. This was the etiquette at Potsdam; for though you are entertained at the Prince's, the invitation is really the King's. The Marquis de Bouillé, Monsieur De Custine, (since guillotined at Paris,) and several other officers were the same day presented, and received similar invitations.

Notwithstanding the King had several empty palaces, the Prince was obliged to content himself with a lodging at a brewer's house. Here we all met, in a small dining-room; where we had an elegant entertainment, very handsomely served.

This suite of apartments might be called the Prince's *ostensible* lodgings; but he had extended them far beyond the brewer's house, by occupying parts of two or three adjacent houses. His Majesty was equally niggardly with respect to servants, of which he allowed the Prince very few; but several handsome young fellows, who had no warlike inclinations, were glad to purchase the Prince's livery, and wear it without wages, as a protection from being forced into the army. Though the enlargement of the
apartments

apartments might possibly be concealed, forty or fifty stout handsome domestics could not escape the penetrating eye of Frederic: he knew in fact every body in Potsdam; and when he met any of these volunteer lacqueys, never failed to bestow reproachful epithets on them.

The King, whose curiosity was raised by the exploits of Potemkin in the Crimea, honoured me with some marks of attention; and thus I obtained a sort of indirect leave to reside at Potsdam, (a favour very rarely granted, particularly to military men); nor was I unnoticed by the Prince, at whose parties I frequently made one. Having seen the King, and having attended different manœuvres where that inimitable soldier commanded in person, I was recommended by my friends to go to Berlin, in order to be introduced to the Queen.

I went accordingly; and Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian Envoy there, having introduced me to the rest of the foreign ministers, I was on the first public day presented to her Majesty, by her first Chamberlain, Pirwitz. It was on this visit to Berlin that I had the good fortune to become acquainted with the amiable Duke Frederic of Brunswick, and General Mollendorff, Governor of the capital.

After having remained a few days to enjoy the pleasures of Berlin, I returned to Potsdam,
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not without feeling some reluctance at leaving certain connections I had formed. On my return to Potsdam I waited on the Prince, who now admitted me more frequently into his private parties. The Prince constantly attended the King's military manœuvres, and I always accompanied him: his Royal Highness had, however, certain *private manœuvres* of his own, at which I also attended, and with which the King was not acquainted. The great Frederic, as is perfectly known, had no high veneration for the fair sex in general; while the Prince Frederic William was, like myself, their devoted slave. Though it was no easy matter to elude the vigilance of the old warrior, the Prince, Baron Groothausen, and myself, contrived now and then to steal to Berlin without his knowledge.

Though these sallies were some time concealed from the brave old King, it was impossible they should be hid for ever; in fact they were detected, and I had the honour of an intimation from the Governor of Potsdam, acquainting me that my presence was no longer necessary in that garrison. He would in fact have used his oldest general the same way or worse. This happened on the parade, in the presence of the Prince, of whom I immediately took leave; and repaired to my hotel, in order to prepare
for

for my journey. The Prince, well acquainted with my extreme extravagance, and suspecting I might want money, though he seldom had sufficient for his own purposes, sent a servant to me with a handsome supply. I then took horse, and, attended by one servant, left Potsdam.

I stopped at the house of a friend, with the intention of passing the night, and waiting the arrival of my baggage and servant. I wrote from hence, by a messenger, to the Governor, acquainting him that I had obeyed his Majesty's orders with the alacrity and dispatch I owed to so great a monarch; that I hoped he would facilitate the departure of my servant, by furnishing him the necessary passport: I added, that the keys of Spandau* had made a man tremble who would stand undaunted before all the artillery of the House of Brandenburg.

The Governor granted my request, intimating at the same time that I might, when I pleased, return to Potsdam. After passing some time at Berlin, where I had now a numerous acquaintance, I accepted the invitation, and returned to that grand military academy, though not as a permanent residence.

* Spandau is a garrison not far distant from Potsdam, where Frederic the Great frequently sent officers who gave him offence, and kept them as long as he thought proper.

Potsdam,

Potsdam, though certainly the first school for war, was in fact no very pleasant place to inhabit. The strictness of the discipline rendered every man no better than a slave; nobody could pass or repass the gates without being reported; and to the very garrison it nearly was intolerable, as the soldiers had there no opportunity, as elsewhere, of earning any thing by their labour, as there was no trade or commerce whatever in that town, its inhabitants being, to a very few exceptions indeed, military.

The King endeavoured to amend their condition, by ordering numbers of houses to be built every year: still the soldiers were miserable; but, though suicide was frequently the result of distress, the veteran monarch was absolutely idolized by them.

Frederic the Great had in his younger days been a very active man; but when I saw him, he had upon him much of the infirmity of age. That sharp, penetrating look, which would have marked him as an extraordinary man, even at a glance, still remained; but he stooped much, and his legs were scarcely able to support his weight, which, however, was not enormous.

He wished, as far as possible, to conceal every appearance of decay; and would have felt himself hurt had any one observed him mounting his horse. Unable to vault into his saddle

as he used to do, he always got between his horse and a wall. This was a signal for all, except those employed in mounting him, to look another way. As soon as he had got his foot into the stirrup, a powerful huzzar, in a twinkling, hoisted his Majesty into his saddle; once there, he galloped off immediately.

Perhaps, since the time of Charles XII. of Sweden no prince ever paid less attention to dress than Frederic the Great. His coat was always military, and seldom, I believe, had its nap disturbed by the officious intrusion of a brush: this he wore buttoned tight round him; and his legs were cased in a pair of large strong boots. These last, the date of whose antiquity I am not chronologist enough to fix, had been held sacred from brush and blacking; but when overloaded with mud, having been washed with a sponge, had gradually deserted the sable, and assumed a mahogany hue.

His hat was no way calculated to put the rest of his dress out of countenance; it seemed their coeval fellow-soldier, and was sharp before. As he never spoke, even to a private soldier, without uncovering and holding it in his hand, the right corner, by which he always held it, shewed evident marks of hard duty.

His snuff-box, the only gaudy thing about him, was of gold, of an enormous size, and to
this

this he was almost perpetually resorting, not for pinches, but, I had almost said, handfulls.

Such was the exterior of Frederic! In such a homely casket was contained a soul capable of conquering and governing the universe! This was the truly great man who, amidst all the hurry of war, cultivated arts at home! The companion of a Voltaire, the avowed enemy of kings; he esteemed this philosophical republican, and was beloved in his turn by philosophers of all descriptions. This was he who in the midst of disasters, rose in proportion to his sufferings, and not only rescued his kingdom from ruin, but raised it to a pitch of greatness unparalleled in Europe! Invincible in war, indefatigable in exertions, and inflexible in justice, he never had a superior, hardly an equal.

At Potsdam this incomparable Prince occupied but three small apartments, and those in a corner of the vast palace there. They consisted of a *Salle à Manger*, which served likewise as an anti-chamber, a bed-chamber and a library; these, like all the other apartments he used, were hung with blue satin. It must be confessed that the hangings were somewhat worse for wear, the moths having made free with such parts as best suited their palates; the very curtains of the King's own bed were so full of holes, that he might have pretty tolerably reconnoitred the approach

approach of a visitor, without the trouble of withdrawing them.

He lived however but little in this palace, as his principal residence was at *Sans Souci*, a short distance from the gates of Potsdam. Here was his favourite retirement; here he unburthened himself from the cares of state; here he was the philosopher, the polished scholar, and he may be properly styled the father of the Prussian *belles lettres*. His company at *Sans Souci* was extremely select; it consisted of the first literary characters and a few distinguished generals; with these he passed his time in conversation and music, in which his excellence, both as a composer and performer, is admitted by all the world.

While I was in Prussia, his Majesty had a violent illness, a little before the time appointed for the Silesian manœuvres; his attendance was thought to be impossible, a circumstance the more remarkable, as, during his long and glorious reign, he had never been disappointed of any military operation for which he had fixed the time, either by sickness or bad weather.

However, just as the season approached, and as if such was decreed to be the unchangeable fortune of the Great Frederic, he recovered, contrary to all expectation, and was perfectly able to review his gallant troops as usual.

During

During his illness he was so reduced, that a lusty strong huzar was obliged to lift him from his bed to his chair, and back again. One day, when this faithful domestic was lifting his royal master from his bed, the iron heel of his boot slipped on the wax-rubbed boards, so that he found he must unavoidably fall; he had however the presence of mind to toss his Majesty on the bed, while he himself measured his length on the floor. Frighted to death, the huzar did not venture to raise his head, and the King who was hardly able to speak from debility, was rendered perfectly speechless with laughter at the droll accident. As soon as he recovered his speech, he encouraged the honest soldier to rise, and conceived such a liking to him for his sudden resource of thought, that he never would part with him from about his person.

From *Sans Souci*, the King used to gallop almost full speed to Potsdam to the parades, which he seldom missed; he was attended only by two pages, who not being so well mounted, had frequently much difficulty to keep up with him. When he arrived there, he rode briskly along the line, sometimes without speaking a word, and sometimes he would converse with the Governor, the other general officers, and such strangers as had been presented.

It is impossible, without having seen the Prussian troops, to form an idea of their appearance and discipline; no mistakes ever happen, no awkwardness is to be seen; they seem rather different branches of the same grand machine than distinct beings. Every thing is perfect, every thing is in a state of readiness; so that were it necessary to send the whole army to the frontiers, or further, in an instant they would begin their march.

The Great Frederic used to pay visits on horseback, with little ceremony; of which an instance happened, in the beginning of the winter 1784, when the then reigning Duke of Courland came to Potsdam, to pay his respects to his Prussian Majesty. The Duke had taken up his residence at an hotel close to the parade, but by no means the best in the place. Here in a little, shabby parlour, was his Serene Highness, dressed in the most splendid style, blazing with diamonds, and covered with the richest embroideries. In this place, immediately on his arrival, he had the honour of a visit from the King, who in his old uniform coat and other usual accoutrements, rode up to the door of the hotel, alighted in a moment, and without further ceremony went into the parlour; he stopped a few minutes in conversation, when he took leave, remounted his horse,

horse, and rode away with as little ceremony as he had approached.

The Prince and Princess was kept under such restraint by the King, that it was next to impossible for them to enjoy any pleasure. But when his Majesty was gone to any distance, which precluded the possibility of his return for a day or two, the Princess never failed to give a ball, at the palace of Charlottenburgh, in the park of Berlin. To these assemblies, which were very gay, the officers of the *Gens d'Armes*, and variety of the most fashionable and noble personages were admitted; but the Princess was obliged to be at home before the King's return to Potsdam.

CHAP. VIII.

The author leaves Prussia and returns to Denmark.—Sets out for England, where he arrives in December 1784.—Frequently visits the Continent in the course of the two following years.—Bespeaks a travelling post-chaise of Mr. Lycet.—Mr. Lycet, not being able to arrest him for the DEBT, twelve months after the delivery of the carriage, proceeds CRIMINALLY against him.—The unhappy consequences.—Sends a model of a saddle and accoutre-

ment to the King of Prussia.—Obtains his pardon, and goes to France.—Forms an intimacy with some of the most distinguished characters there.—Proceedings of the Convention, and anecdotes of the persons principally concerned in the massacre of the King, with the procession to his trial.

IN November 1784, I left Prussia, and by the way of Lubeck, went again to Copenhagen; here I staid a few days. I then set out for England, charged with letters for government from Mr. Elliot, and arrived on the 23d of December. I delivered the packet, with which I was intrusted, according to instructions, and having spent some little time in London, I returned to the Continent, partly to gratify my turn for military operations, and partly on confidential business. I continued to go backward and forward as business or inclination led me, till an event took place, which first fitted my name for the mouth of calumny, and which has humbled me in my own eyes, more than in those of the public. Though this has been told and retailed a thousand times, and though I am far from accusing either a judge or a jury, of willing injustice, still will I boldly affirm, that it is not only possible for both to be mistaken, but that it is often impossible for any but the man himself to judge of his own *intentions*. The case stood thus with

with me: I had bespoke a travelling post-chaise of a coach-maker, Mr. Lycet. It was ordered to be finished on a particular day, and on that day he sent it home. My then situation rendered such a carriage necessary for me, and I was at that time able to pay for it; but my fatal turn for extravagance soon put that out of my power. After remaining some time in town, I went again to the Continent, and during twelve months, passed and repassed very frequently; on which occasions several attempts were made to *arrest me for the debt*, nor was there any idea of calling it *a fraud*, till a year after the carriage was delivered to me at my lodgings at Knights-Bridge. I am far from vindicating the non-payment of a just debt, but I solemnly declare that I had not the smallest idea of defrauding the coach-maker. I had occasion for a carriage; I was in a good situation, though very careless and extravagant. But were every fashionable young man, who buys a post-chaise, without considering how it is to be paid for, as strictly dealt by as I was, the Newgate Calendar would, I fear, become an almost indispensable supplement to the Red Book.

It is true, Mr. Lycet swore that I had hired the carriage *only for a week*; but had he not sworn it, would it have appeared credible, that he would fit up a new carriage for a week's hire? The attempt to arrest me was admitted; besides,

in his books there appeared an *erasure*, where the word *hired* was. Had it been originally so, what need to alter it? If it was not, some other word must have occupied that place. What that word was, or when erased, Mr. Lycet best knows.

It is further remarkable, that he produced no person in court to whom he had complained of the robbery; he had applied to no magistrate, nor had he even entertained an idea of commencing a criminal prosecution, till, as himself confessed, he had been *advised* to it. Contrary however to the expectation of every *Lawyer* in court, the judge who tried me, was of opinion that the jury should find me guilty of a *felonious intention*.

After such a charge delivered by the Judge, it cannot excite much surprise, that I was found guilty, and that I was sentenced to seven years transportation.

Notwithstanding this had been the opinion of the *Judge*, and the determination of the *Jury*, it weighed very little with those who knew me, and who exerted themselves to extricate me from my difficulties.

I was of course committed to the charge of the keeper of Newgate, by whom I was lodged in the state apartments of that prison. Here I had a room to myself; and having much spare time,

time, I invented a saddle and accoutrement for cavalry, which saddle I find recently adopted in the British army, with little alteration.

My model I sent to his Majesty Frederic William of Prussia, who had then just succeeded the immortal Frederic the Great, accompanied by a letter, of which a translation is here annexed, and which, at that time, appeared in most of the periodical prints, in French and English.

(TRANSLATION.)

(The original being wrote in French.)

“TO THE KING. POTSDAM.

“SIRE,

“WHEN I had the honour of being presented to your Majesty, on my return from the invasion of the Crimea, the gracious reception which I met with, and the strong proof which your Majesty deigned to give me, (in a* moment of disgrace,) of your uncommon generosity and condescension, rivetted those chains, by which, as a man devoted to the profession of war, I was already attached to your person.

* See Page 60.

“ Such, Sire, is my passion for martial affairs, and such my veneration for the Prussian arms, that even in disgrace and bondage, while afflictions are dealt to me with more than common liberality, still my whole soul is occupied by the glorious scenes I have seen, and still my distracted imagination holds to my view your Majesty's godlike troops.

“ Your cavalry, the finest in the world, I have often gazed on with rapture, and the particular attention which I payed to their accoutrements, occasioned me to make some remarks, which I now beg leave, with the most respectful submission, to lay before your Majesty, along with an accoutrement for light-horse, an invention of my own, and which I had prepared to lay in person at your Majesty's feet, when I was prevented by the disgrace and destruction, into which I was plunged, by unbounded extravagance, and ungoverned passions. Unable to adorn my tale, I will without further apology, proceed in the plain language of a soldier, to point out the disadvantages which your Majesty's, and indeed all the cavalry on the Continent of Europe, labour under by the present mode of saddling.

“ It is an established custom in your Majesty's cavalry to place the saddle on the shoulder

der of the horse, by which means he is confined in his movement, travels with great inconvenience to himself, is soon fatigued, is subject to have fistulas from the continual motion of his shoulders under the saddle; and, when he becomes fatigued, having the weight of his rider so much forwards, is subject to stumble. Was the saddle placed in such manner as to expose entirely to view the shoulder, it would add grace to the appearance, give ease to the horse, render him more active, less subject to an ulcerated back, less apt to stumble, and when he did stumble, would be easily recovered by his rider, who, being seated about the middle of his horse's back, would sit firm, and have great command.

“ My present situation renders it impracticable for me to convey my accoutrement for light-horse to your Majesty by any other means than that of your Majesty's Minister at London. To enter into a description of this accoutrement would exceed the bounds of a letter. My earnest prayer is, that your Majesty would suffer it to be laid before you, when I hope its appearance will say more in its favour than I could say in a volume. I will, however, so far observe, that it is well calculated for parade, for ease, for service, and to encourage the men to close to the enemy, the only means by which
cavalry

cavalry can be redoubtable or successful. Should it meet with your Majesty's approbation, and should it be found to possess the qualities which I have attempted to describe, I shall esteem myself the most fortunate man on earth.

"The hour in which I must be liberated, though, alas! 'tis too distant; nevertheless advances; and as it approaches, I tremble for the difficulties which I shall have to encounter: that aversion which mankind in general have for the unfortunate, will throw unsurmountable difficulties in my way, unless your Majesty, as conspicuous for compassion as for military talent, will suffer me to stand as a volunteer in the ranks with your grenadiers; there I may find an opportunity of perishing as I ought; further I do not expect. I have forfeited all claim to confidence, of course, to command; and only seek such a grave, as (in spite of my present disgrace) the hard service which I have seen, and the dangers which I have braved, give me some title to demand.

"If it is a fact, Sire, that men of courage are ever possessed of the most tender feelings, I can no where look for compassion, for pity, or pardon, with such hopes of success, as to your Majesty, and your gallant army! Have mercy on me, Sire, and command your brave General de Mollendorff to announce to me, that you will suffer me to carry arms with your Majesty's grenadiers,

grenadiers, I shall be happy! will wait the hour of my enlargement with resignation, and, when it comes, fly to your standard.

“ With anxious impatience I attend the sentence which your Majesty will pronounce. On it depends my fate!

“ I have the honour to be, Sire, with all that enthusiasm which so great a Captain as your Majesty can inspire in the soul of a soldier,

“ Your MAJESTY’S

“ Most humble,

SEPT. 1790.

“ Faithful and devoted servant.”

I remained a prisoner in the state apartments of Newgate a considerable while. I was then sent to Woolwich, where, after some time, I received his Majesty’s pardon, on condition of going abroad.

The encouragement I had formerly received on the Continent, and the protection that I had some reason to expect from the King of Prussia, inclined me to go to Germany; but my friends advised me rather to go to France, then at peace with, and receiving supplies of every thing from England. They very properly supported their arguments by truths which I could not deny;
that

that the bare pay was too small for my turn of mind, and that France then deprived of her best officers wanted men of tried skill and experience, and therefore held out a fairer prospect to me. I yielded to these reasons and went to France, where I remained some time an inactive spectator, till want of subsistence forced me to apply to the Committee of War for employment. But already disgusted by their villainous proceedings, I declined accepting any situation, though my advice was frequently taken respecting the new corps they were forming. Curious however to see the event of the King's trial, I determined to remain on the spot until that was over, and was accordingly obliged to conceal my sentiments.

I had now formed a strict intimacy with General Beruyer, Commandant of the interior, a situation often mistaken for that of Commandant of Paris, whereas in truth they are very different: the General has the command of all the troops in the interior, but the Commandant of Paris has only the command of the national guard in that city; the former, Beruyer, was an old and excellent foldier; the latter, Santerre, was a brewer. With Beruyer I went upon all his little excursions. I was likewise very intimate with Pache, the minister of war, Pethion, Roland

Roland, and several others of the then leaders of France, most of whom have since been guillotined.

During my abode in Paris, I was an eye-witness of many shocking massacres, and I cannot help wondering at my own escapes; for at a time when liveries were forbidden to all but the foreign ministers, and brilliant equipages wholly out of use, I had both of the most splendid kind, and was generally called an *aristocrate*, a reproach I did not take much pains to contradict.

The time fixed for the trial of the unfortunate Louis now drew near, and vast preparations were made for that purpose. During this time the violence of the Jacobin party daily increased, though it had not then reached its height of wanton and indiscriminate murder.

When the day arrived for the King to appear before the Convention, I, with Mr. Maxwell, went in the suite of Beruyer, to fetch him; the whole way was lined with troops, and the concourse of people was immense. The unhappy monarch was found dressed in a morning coat of grey Bath coating, a waistcoat, and, I think, breeches of the same; his hair rolled up, and his beard long, not expecting, as we imagined, a visit of that kind.*

A singular

* Clery says that the King *had* received private intelligence, and describes the means by which such intelligence was obtained.

A singular delay happened, and for a time retarded the procession. The * decree of the Convention, ordering the King to be brought before them, had been forgotten; a messenger was therefore dispatched for it, and on his return it was read to his Majesty, who bowed and complied. Though there had elapsed sufficient time from the hour of Chambon's arrival at the Temple for him to have changed his cloaths, he went dressed as I have just described.

From the King's wavering conduct, in his attempt to escape from the country, and on other occasions, I had formed the idea of his being a very weak and irresolute character; but I was far mistaken, for his examination convinced me, that he wanted neither courage nor talents, and indeed from that day I became devoted to him.

With the utmost coolness and intrepidity, he answered interrogatories, which he could not possibly foresee, and while his whole conduct

tained. But at that time this circumstance was unknown to any except those immediately concerned.

* Clery mentions, that though Chambon, *Maire* of Paris, was announced before eleven o'clock, as being with the council below, and coming up immediately to speak with the King, he did not appear before one; as the cause of this delay was only whispered among the general staff, it could not well come to Mr. Clery's knowledge.

evinced

evinced firmness of mind, his answers shewed that he possessed a clear understanding, far above the standard of mediocrity.

When the King arrived at the hall of the Convention, he alighted from his carriage, and the general-officers quitted their horses. Santerre and the municipal officers led the van; the King walked next, close followed by Beruyer. They passed along the Corridor till they came opposite a small chamber, into which Santerre informed the King he must go, while his arrival was announced to the Convention.

The King then addressing himself to Beruyer, who always treated him politely, desired to have some refreshment; on which the General told him he might have bread and wine, and he immediately sent for a bottle of the best claret, "*vin de la fête.*"

His Majesty had drank a goblet of wine, eaten a morsel of bread, and was filling his glass again, when Santerre entered the room, saying, "*Louis Capet! la Convention Nationale vous demande a sa barre.*" To this rude address the King replied with a bow, and instantly obeyed.

The firm conduct of this unfortunate monarch I have already remarked: it was such as disarmed many of his enemies; and every friend to humanity entertained hopes of the most favourable kind. The examination ended, the
King

King returned with the same guards. The whole was, however, thrown into confusion, by some battalions refusing to let Santerre, (who had been delayed at the hall of the Convention,) pass them, in order to get into his proper place, next to the King's carriage. Santerre rode very badly; and the guards, who were without discipline, were afraid of his horse, they therefore, after great disorder, obliged him to dismount, and, with much ado, permitted him to force his way through the mob, leading his charger.

The confusion still continuing, he no sooner got near the carriage of the King, than, with a squadron of the regiment of the *Dragons de la Republique*, and a battalion of artillery, he rode off with his royal prisoner, leaving the guards to follow as they could. This procured him a public reprimand, as it was alledged that he might, for want of strength, have had his charge taken from him by superior force.

The King was left some time before he was brought up to make his defence, of which he had regular notice: counsellors were also allowed access to him, and he chose *Malherbes* and *Tronchet* to defend him; *De Sèze* was afterwards added. *Target* had been applied to, but infamously refused.

On the 26th of December the King was
again

again brought to the Convention, with the same ceremony as before; but as he was apprised of it, he appeared dressed, though very plainly. About ten in the morning he left his prison. I had, however, separated from General Beruyer, in order to introduce the Princefs Alexandre Luboumersky and Mr. Ellis, an English gentleman, into the hall of the Convention, which was at that time a matter of no small difficulty. When I had placed them, I took, together with Mr. Maxwell and two servants, the shortest cut across the city to join the line of march; but coming to a street that opened into the Boulevards, we were stopped by a cannon and a female cannonier, who guarded the pass. As I knew it was to little purpose to argue with a *poissarde*, I turned my horse, and passed through another street. Having gained the rear of those who lined the road, I made up to the Commander, and desired leave to pass his line when the head of the march should reach him: he instantly consented; but in the mean time, and to cool our horses, we walked them about in the rear. Here I was accosted by a patrol, who asked me who I was? I told him, an Englishman, waiting to join the General Staff, with whom I had permission to ride, but had been left behind. He answered, "You are not, you are a *Ci-devant*;" and pointing a mus-

ket at me, we were instantly furrounded by a crowd of pikes, and a general outcry of "*Ce sont des ci-devants.*"

All we could say availed nothing; we were carried before the Commissaries of the section of the Temple; but not being able to satisfy them, I was obliged to write to Beruyer in their presence, who no sooner received my note than he came, with his whole General Staff, and delivered us.

A very pacific person, not yet mentioned, who was impelled by curiosity alone, was involved in this adventure, which, as Beruyer observed, made him hasten to my assistance, least, by the smallest delay, he might have met my head on a pike. This was no other than *Mr. Newcomb, the Boot-maker, mounted on my best charger*, which, at his own request, I had lent him, that he might follow me to see the procession of the unhappy monarch to that tribunal which eventually deprived him of life.

In his way to his former attendance the King had received some, though not much insult, yet enough to disgrace, before all mankind, the unfeeling wretches who could be base enough to use it; but now a gang of servants belonging to that
UNIVERSALLY DETESTED ARCH TRAITOR,
ORLEANS, together with a hireling crew devoted to him, uttered such shocking abuse, such
inhuman

inhuman taunts, as could not fail of exciting horror in any bosom not callous to every sense of mercy and decency.

So much has been said on the subject of the King's trial and defence, that I shall be silent upon it, farther than that I was individually present. I shall therefore proceed to the time of his execution, wishing only to lay before my readers particulars that are not generally known.

C H A P. IX.

The Convention orders that the decree pronouncing the King's death should be made known to him within twenty-four hours.—His counsellors refused admission to him.—His sentence announced to him.—Proceedings the evening previous to his execution:—The author attends at the Temple with General Beruyer.—Santerre's brutal behaviour at the Temple the morning of the King's death.—The Queen and Royal Family refused to see the King, by the Commissaries, with an explanation of the reason.—Santerre's speech to his Majesty when he came to fetch him, not related by Clery.—More brutality of Santerre.—A man murdered for pitying the

King.—Preparations at the place of execution.—The King's behaviour, and the involuntary respect paid to him.—New insults of Santerre.—The King's death and burial.

It had been decreed by the Convention, on Saturday January 19th, 1793, that the executive body should, within twenty-four hours, announce the King's fate to him. This, however, was not done till the latest hour of the time limited, though the Municipality did not neglect to take an account of the few trifles then remaining in the possession of a once great sovereign, even before the decree was passed.

For many days the sufferings of the unfortunate Louis had been wantonly aggravated by a series of unnecessary and unprovoked cruelties; the Queen, his children, and sister had been inhumanly torn from him; but now even his counsellor, the venerable Malesherbes, was refused admission.

On Sunday the 20th of January the decree of the Convention was brought to the King, with equal formality and rudeness: it was bluntly announced by Garat, Minister of Justice, and read by Grouvelle, Secretary to the Council, who, I have been assured by those present, seemed more terrified at its contents than the royal sufferer.

The

The King had prepared a paper, which he delivered to Garat, desiring three days delay in the execution of the sentence, that he might prepare himself for the awful scene he was to undergo; he also requested to have a catholic clergyman, of his own chusing; to be freed from incessant inspection, and to see his family without witnesses. He added an earnest entreaty for permission to his family to go wherever they would; and that the nation would consider the cases of some distressed persons, chiefly old people, widows, and children, formerly supported by his bounty.

The same evening, about six, the Convention returned an answer to this request of the King, purporting that he should send for any clergyman he pleased; that he should see his family freely, and without witnesses; that they should be taken into consideration; that the creditors of his household should be indemnified; but the delay of three days was positively refused.

Before the close of the evening drums went through the several districts, with the Sectional Commissaries, who publicly read a proclamation ordering all windows to be shut next day, that no women or children should be seen in the streets; and that the men should repair to their respective sections: they also visited hotels where strangers took up their residence, order-

ing them either to march with the section, or to remain at home; questioning them at the same time concerning their situation, employment, and business in town. Among others they came to me, when I told them, that I had obtained General Beruyer's leave for myself and Mr. *Maxwell* to march with his Staff; and that I was to hold myself in readiness at his quarters at four next morning.

I attended as was appointed, and rode with the General to the Temple. During our march he several times observed to me, that he was surprised at my curiosity; that, for his own part, were he not apprehensive that his declining to attend, (though no part of his duty,) would endanger his own head, he could not have been induced to be witness of so awful a scene. I repeat this in respect to the memory of the amiable Beruyer, who since paid his life as the price of his unshaken loyalty; and who, though forced to disguise his thoughts, was ever in his heart the devoted advocate of the King. When I add that he had a wife and six children, and no fortune, his disguise will be thought very excuseable.

Though I had hitherto avoided going into the prison of the Temple, I now went with Beruyer and his Staff into the apartment where the Committee of the *Commune* was sitting. In
a little

a little time the Municipal Officer then on duty with the King entered, with a request from his Majesty that he might have a pair of scissars allowed him to cut his hair, as he expected every moment to be led forth. No opposition was made by any of the Council, only one member asked the officer who brought the message, if he thought the King might safely be trusted with them? On his answering in the affirmative, and that it was impossible for any man to be more calm or collected, the voice of every member concurred without hesitation in granting this request.

Santerre, however, who, with his Staff, was present, but had no sort of concern or authority in the affairs of the council, as soon as he heard the permission granted, brutally exclaimed, "I oppose that! he wants to cut his hair to give it to his confessor, to be handed about: "I will not have a relic of the tyrant left."

The Committee, over-awed by the opinion of the General, adopted his decision; and the Commissary, laying down the scissars, returned to his duty.

Some time after a Commissary came down to the Council with a message from the Queen, purporting, (to use his own words) *that the women wanted to see Louis Capet*. The decree of the Convention, allowing the King to see his

family *when he pleased*, was then read; but being found not to enjoin that they might see him *when they pleased*, the Council passed to the order of the day. The President, as soon as this was settled, probably willing in compassion to evade the decree, asked if the king had expressed any desire to see them; the officer said *he had not*, (a circumstance confirmed by Clery,) and there the business ended.

About half-past eight Santerre went up stairs to bring his Majesty down; he was attended by several municipal officers and soldiers, some of whom entered the King's apartment, while others took their posts upon the stairs. I followed them, and went so far that I could, through the legs of those that were at the door, see all that passed between Santerre and the royal prisoner.

His Majesty appeared as if coming out of an inner apartment, with two persons behind him, whom I was told were his confessor and Clery. Santerre immediately addressed him to this effect: * " Louis Capet, I am come by order of " the National Convention to take you to the " *Place de la Revolution*, formerly *Place de Louis*

* Clery says nothing of this address; but the anguish and confusion of that faithful and affectionate servant might well prevent him from attending to the discourse of those from whom he had nothing but barbarity.

" *Quinze*,

"*Quinze*, there to deliver you into the hands of "high justice." I did not hear his Majesty say a word.

Before Santerre went up to bring down the King, he had proposed to the Council of the Commune, to *tie him*; but this was rejected, and one of them exclaimed, "Why should we tie "him, are we not all his enemies." Santerre vexed at having his cruelty thus disappointed, told them, that since they had refused to tie him, instead of two Commissaries, he should put two *gens d' armes*, in the coach with him.

Before his Majesty reached the carriage, he had to pass through the garden of the Temple, and along a narrow passage, at the end of which Chambon's shabby old coach was waiting for him. On reaching this he looked round, as for some one to give him a hand to help him in; but no one came near, and the insulted, fallen monarch, was forced to get in without assistance.

Santerre performed his *promise*; for he put two *gens d' armes* into the coach, while the Commissaries, whose duty it was to guard the King, were obliged to follow on foot as well as they could; this was however only the prelude to those scenes of anarchy when no safety was to be found, and when nothing was more usual than
for

for the tyrant of yesterday, to become the victim of to-day.

The procession went on very slowly, with little insult; yet there were not wanting, some whom this awful scene could not soften into decency, a decency due to the feelings of even the worst of criminals. In the principal streets, through which the sad procession was to pass, not a window was open, and some persons who imprudently looked out at windows in the bye streets, were instantly fired at.

After we had proceeded some distance, a shocking affair took place, which must have filled with horror any heart, not lost to humanity. A man as the King passed, exclaimed "*Quel triste changement !*" "what a sad change !" He had no sooner uttered the words, than he was literally torn to pieces, and parts of his mangled body held upon pikes before the carriage, to shew the unhappy Louis, the end of what they arrogantly called the *last of his friends*.

The * procession met with no more interruption, till we arrived at the place, de la Revolution,

* The streets were compleatly lined with foldiers, cannon were placed at every avenue, leading into the line of march, field pieces and heavy artillery were likewise drawn in the procession, both before and behind the carriage, and the guards, who led and closed the whole, were immensely numerous.

the

the destined theatre of regicide. Here the fatal machine was erected in such a manner, that the illustrious sufferer, could, from the scaffold see at one view, the once pleasing palace of the Tuilleries, and the pedestal and fragments of his predecessor's statue.

The guillotine was surrounded by troops, of which the *Marseillois* held the most conspicuous situation, as it was between them and the scaffold that the King must pass. A place on the right was kept open for the General Staff, and the cannon filed round into the front of the machine, where they were kept primed, with matches lighted, and *one* in particular was pointed at the place of death, with orders on the smallest cry for mercy from the people, to fire and put at once an end to all hopes.

When the carriage drew up opposite the ladder of the scaffold, M. de Frimont the King's confessor alighted, and his Majesty was likewise preparing to do so, but was stopped as soon as he put his head out of the door by Santerre, who imperiously bade him go back; this order was instantly obeyed, and the King being heavy, shook the coach when he sat down; hence arose the report that he had fainted on seeing the machine, than which nothing could be more false.

Santerre

Santerre then called to some of the *gens d'armes*, and ordered six of them to draw up, three on each side of the way, from the coach door to the ladder, which was not more than two yards distant. In this place, the King who had been made to alight as soon as these *gens d'armes* were posted, undressed himself; first throwing off his hat, which was instantly cut to pieces and distributed among those present; he then threw off his coat, which was treated in the same manner, nor did he receive any assistance, except that some person folded his shirt under the collar of his waistcoat, which seemed to me to be of white cotton flannel.

He then prepared to ascend the scaffold, but was told that his hands must be tied; to this he quietly submitted, only saying *it was not necessary*. Mr. Frimont was going along with him to administer the last offices of religion, but he was torn away, and another priest, a meer raggamuffian in appearance, was put in his place, as a parting insult to the dying monarch.

Whether he had thus far attempted to speak, I cannot say; for the drums and trumpets, which by the express order of Santerre, were placed in immense number in the front of the guillotine, to use his language, "*to prevent Louis Capet from being heard should he attempt to speak,*" made

made such a noise as rendered it impossible to hear a word. As soon as the King came upon the scaffold, he looked at the fatal machine, and then walked towards the front, bowing to the people as if he meant to speak. Notwithstanding the drums and trumpets had been placed for the purpose of drowning his voice, no sooner did his Majesty appear to be preparing to address the spectators, than the noise ceased in an instant, and the most profound and solemn silence prevailed. He attempted to speak, but instantly Santerre called to the executioner to do his duty, who going behind his Majesty, attempted to pull him away by the arms; but not being able, his assistant got before him, and pushing against his breast, they together forced him near to the centre of the scaffold, in a line with the guillotine, he likewise called immediately to the drums and trumpets, who again began to make a noise.

The priest now approached; but the King said something to them, on which they retired a step, and he continued uttering, probably a prayer, for a few seconds. He then laid himself voluntarily on the board of the guillotine, which was instantly put in its place; the executioner immediately proceeded to tie him, and his assistant to fix the collar that was to secure his neck. While he was doing this with one
hand

hand, and before his master had done his part, he with the other hand held the string that was to discharge the machine, and ere the collar was fastened, pulled it, and put a period to the sufferings of the once great sovereign of France, who so lately, and so justly was idolized by all the people of that nation.

No sooner had the guillotine performed its dreadful office, than the executioner made a pretext to press the knife down, as if it had not gone quite through the neck, and that the head was taken off by *his hands*; but this was unnecessary, as the fall of the machine did its duty completely.

The assistant caught up the bleeding head, as soon as it was severed from the body, and holding it by the hair, exposed it to view on every side of the scaffold, crying out, "*Vive la republique, le tiran n'est plus;*" he then threw it down at his feet, and went to assist his master to put the body into a long basket, which was already bloody with the gore of numerous victims. The ruffian then again held up the head as before, and after exposing it some little time, standing a few paces from the basket, tossed it in with an air of disdain.

Many now pressed round to dip their handkerchiefs in the King's blood, and the city resounded with shouts of "*vive la republique:*" nay,
so

so eager were *some* for blood, that (I blush to relate it,) the son of an eminently rich Yorkshire clothier gave to a *Marseillois* fifty crowns, to stain his handkerchief in that of the murdered King.

The body of the unfortunate Louis was then taken to the church-yard of St. Magdalen, where it was put into a hole fifteen feet deep, amidst a large quantity of quick-lime; a guard was set over it for several days, that (to use their own expression,) *not a relique of royalty might be left.*

CHAP. X.

Santerre sends a letter to the Convention, announcing the King's death, which the President declined reading aloud.—The city overwhelmed with sorrow.—The author sends an account of the King's death to London.—Resolves to leave France, and receives a passport for that purpose.—In danger of being arrested as a spy.—Makes his escape from Paris.—Passes several garrison towns by stratagem, and reaches Brussels.—Difficulty of passing the Cordon, and the method he took to avoid Antwerp, where Dumourier then was,—Arrives at Hoogstraten.—Stops for refreshment at Baal-Hertog.

tog.—Reaches Bois le Duc.—Proposes an enterprise which is approved, and occasions him to go to the Hague.—Returns with power to carry his plan into execution.

SANTERRE dispatched one of his Aides-du-Camp to announce to the Convention the death of the King, as soon as his head was struck off; he himself staid to see the body interred, and then rode to the hall of the Convention.

The letter he had sent by his Aid-du-Camp contained so many boasts of his own shocking brutalities, that the President refused to read it aloud, and contented himself by announcing the event to the Convention. The whole city seemed quite melancholy: for some days hardly any one was to be seen in the streets, and the few that stirred out, wore evident marks of grief and dismay in their countenances. On the night of the King's death I went into several of the theatres: they were empty; and I am well convinced that nine-tenths, not only of the people of Paris, but of all France, at that time were still devoted to their sovereign, but they wanted a leader and confidence in each other, to enable them to prevent, or to avenge his fall.

Mr. Newcomb, before-mentioned, who had only waited in Paris to see whether the Convention would dare to put their threat in execution,

cution, remained with me that night till I wrote an account of the shocking business, with which he and his son immediately set off for London.

The following evening, the theatres still continuing empty, the traitorous Orleans hired a mob to fill them, and to give to the place the air of cheerfulness; but all was in vain; an evident gloom overspread the once gay metropolis, nor was it till several days had elapsed that joy re-appeared.

Disgusted to the highest degree with the excesses I daily witnessed in a country to which I had gone merely by the advice of my friends, and expecting war to be declared by my own sovereign, I determined to join the allies. I therefore addressed the Convention, telling them that my circumstances had induced me to offer them my services when they were at peace with, and receiving succours from my country; but that as firmly devoted to Britain as Frenchmen were to France, and perceiving war * at the eve

* I was so far right in my prediction, that before I had time to leave Paris, the Convention declared war, (to use their own words,) "*Non contre le peuple Anglais et Hollandois, mais contre les tirans George et le Statbouder.*" Nevertheless, they commenced by waging war against the people, for they immediately laid an embargo on all British vessels, seized all British property in France, and in every way harraffed and imprisoned such of his Majesty's subjects as had not left the country.

of breaking out, I begged they would grant **me** a passport, that I might haste to my post.

This request they complied with, and **even** seemed pleased with my boldness. I was, notwithstanding, under some apprehension of **being** arrested as soon as I should begin my journey, and therefore resolved to depart unawares. **In** the mean time I paid visits to all my friends, telling them that I should leave France in **ten** or twelve days.

The precautions I took were not without reason; for the same day, while dining at the house of a lady where it was known I past **all** my leisure moments, a person belonging to the Convention, whose sole study has invariably been to do good, and to whose kind offices many subjects of all nations owe their existence, came in disguise, and acquainted me that I was **de-**nounced to the Committee of Public Safety as a spy, and as going to join the enemy, by **Max-**well *, Le Brun, and my landlord; and that the
order

* This gentleman, I afterwards learned, was the Dr. **Max-**well who had fled from Portland Road, on account of some improper meetings held at his house. I first met him at Pache's office. He attended there for months, offering some rifle barrels, which he brought from England, and soliciting the command of a company of rifle-men. He had been protected by Servan, the former Minister of War; but Servan having resumed the post of General, Maxwell's interest was at an end; and
the

order for my arrestation had just been issued. I talked of surrendering myself, but he strongly dissuaded me, as faction, not justice, then prevailed. As I had for some days been preparing to set off from that lady's house, I had removed nearly all my baggage thither piecemeal; and had ordered my valet, who remained at home, and on whose fidelity I could depend, to leave some of my cloaths, maps, arms, &c. in confusion, as if I had, as usual, gone out; and to say to any one that might enquire for me, that he could not tell when I should come in, but that I might certainly be found, as was my common practice, at eleven the next morning. It was, however, my intention to have set out that night, and to have taken him with me.

A groom whom, from not sufficiently knowing, I had suspected to be capable of betraying me, I kept constantly near me; I would not suffer him to go out of the lady's house; and when her servant had prepared her *cabriole*, with which I meant to escape, I made him get into it, and then followed myself. I drove to St. Dennis; where I told the Post-Master that I was going upon military duty, desiring him to furnish me

the first Secretary having introduced him to me as my countrymen, I recommended him, and his services were accepted.

with horses, and to take care of mine until I came back; with which request he complied. I then judged it proper to explain myself to my servant, who declared himself determined to see me safe over the frontiers, or to die by my side.

By stratagem I passed Cambrai and Valenciennes. Arriving at the gates, I called loudly for the officer of the guard, and telling him that I came from Paris on urgent business, I demanded, in great seeming haste, that he would give me one of his guard to conduct me to the Commandant's house; and leaping out of my chaise, directed my servant to drive to the post, and get fresh horses put to the carriage immediately. By this means I prevented interrogation at the gates; and when we came to the Commandants, who were then men without military knowledge or experience, I pretended to have been ordered to join the army of the North by the Convention, and to inform him that some troops of the line were on march to join Dumourier, whom he might expect in his garrison in a few days.

A plausible story was all that was necessary; and, instead of demanding my pass, I was only asked questions about the death of the King while the horses were preparing.

Thus I reached Bruffells, where I considered myself as safe, having so many acquaintances;
but

but the greatest difficulty lay in passing the *cor-don* formed by the army: I therefore applied to Prince Louis d'Aremberg, who accompanied me to the quarters of General Moreton, then commanding at Bruffells.

From Moreton I solicited a passport, which he readily gave me, but informed me at the same time that his pass was but of little use, for that an English General, to whom he had given one some little time before, had, nevertheless, been detained at Ostend. Upon consulting with D'Aremberg it was resolved, that I should purchase a couple of horses, and endeavour to go round Antwerp, as Dumourier, with a large body of his army, was then there; and I was well known to that General and most of his officers.

I immediately purchased the horses, and set out in a few hours from my arrival, contriving to reach Antwerp a little after the gates were shut. This precaution was necessary, to furnish me a pretext for stopping in the village; for had I arrived there before the gates were locked, I must either have gone in, or have made myself the object of suspicion, by remaining at a paltry *cabaret* when I might have been elegantly accommodated in the town. To have reached the gates any considerable time after their being shut would have excited as much suspicion as

to have stopped in the village while the town was open: I was therefore obliged to calculate very nicely, and to assume the appearance of having rode furiously to reach the town in time. I managed this manœuvre so successfully that the inhabitants of the suburbs, concluding that I was in as great haste as I appeared to be, officiously called to me as I passed, that I might moderate my speed, for that I was too late to pass the gates. I however galloped on, with seeming anxiety, to the barrier, which I found shut. This was what I wanted; so, with apparent disappointment, I returned to the suburbs, and went into the first public-house I saw.

Here I ordered refreshment for my horses and myself, pretending that I must be ready to go into the town as soon as I could obtain admission; but having during the evening met with a person who had formerly served me, and in whom I could place confidence, I opened my mind to him, and he consented to be my guide round the town. In the dead of night therefore, when all was quiet, I again mounted my horse, and set out, accompanied by my guide, who conducted me so well, that before day-light he left me within sight of my direct road.

As the day approached, I consulted with my servant, when we determined, that if we fell in
with

with a centinel of the troops of the line, we should endeavour to approach and shoot him; but if he were a *Garde Nationale*, (whom we knew at that time to be wholly unacquainted with the business of service, and whom we could at once distinguish from the striking difference of the uniform,) that I should endeavour to get the countersign from him; fortunately the first we encountered was a *Garde Nationale*. He challenged me; I answered that I was of the General Staff, sent to visit the posts, and to examine the centinels, some of whom had suffered Austrian spies to pass, and were supposed to have forgot the countersign. He replied that it was not him, and after some altercation gave it to me. I thereupon pretended great satisfaction, and expressing the uneasiness it would have given me, to have been obliged to have ordered so fine a young man to have been shot, I rode on. Having obtained this, I had no difficulty to pass another centinel, whom I soon afterwards met, and early in the forenoon, found myself in the Dutch village of *Hoogstraaten*, which lies about half-way between Antwerp and *Bois le Duc*; hither I learnt the enemies parties frequently came, even before the declaration of war.

My stay in this village was consequently very short; and from thence I went to Bærlé-Hertog,

but even here I was told I was by no means safe. However both my horses and myself being much fatigued, I went to sleep in a part where I thought I should not be readily found: my horses were likewise disposed of so as not to be easily come at, and I had directed my servant, in case of alarm, to turn them adrift. After a few hours rest, but before day-light, I again set forward, and without any interruption, arrived at *Bois le Duc* the same forenoon.

The whole appearance of this place indicated nothing but the profoundest peace; the Governor, the reigning Prince of Hesse Phillipsthal, and the Commandant, Major General Douglas, seemed unconscious of the presence of war. The French army, which under Dumourier had invaded the empire, had just been defeated near *Aix la Chapelle*, by Saxe Coburgh, and the Duke Frederic of Brunswick, the former of whom pursued the flying army into the country, between *Maestricht* and *Leige*, while the latter with his usual promptness, marched immediately from *Aix* into Holland by the way of the *Rure*, and was then advancing towards *Bois le Duc*, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, an event which the garrison did not seem to apprehend, though they were not prepared to resist, and though a large army of the
French

French under General Maffena, lay at Antwerp, and were already preparing to attack Williamstadt and Breda.

This was not a time for a man of any activity to be idle. I had not passed the French lines without making some observations on their positions. I therefore immediately proposed an enterprize, which was highly approved by the Governor and Commandant of *Bois le Duc*. I was indeed received and attended to by them with the utmost respect, as the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Phillipsthal*, son to the Governor, had served in Russia, and had conceived a high regard for me, and a favourable opinion of my talent as a soldier.

This enterprize which was deemed practicable by all the military men of experience, was to surprise one of the enemy's Generals, and carry him off from his quarters, a business which only wanted a small share of resolution and some ingenuity; for that General, at that period, exposed himself to such an accident, by placing his quarters in a situation totally detached from his army, and having no other guard than a few orderly commissioned, and non-commissioned officers.

The Governor and Commandant not having the power to carry my proposal into effect, nevertheless judged it proper to lay it before the Stadtholder.

Stadtholder. This delay though probably short was too much for my impatience, and I was on the eve of setting out to join the Duke Frederic of Brunswick, when I received a letter directing me to proceed immediately to the Hague.

I accordingly set off without delay, and had an interview with the Stadtholder, and some of his Generals, who finding my plan practicable, gave me an order to the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, instructing him to give me from the Cavalry, in the garrison of *Bois le Duc*, such a detachment as I might judge necessary.

CHAP. XI.

Change in the operations of the French, which defeats the author's plan.—He goes to cut off some forage belonging to the French, in the vicinity of Alphen.—Perfectly succeeds.—Employs a bold stratagem to reconnoitre Breda.—Finds the Duke Frederic of Brunswick just leaving Bois le Duc, and follows him to the village of Oosterwyk.—Without time to rest or take refreshment, dispatched to Saxe Coubourgh.—Is present at the memorable battle of St. Tronde, which lasted three days.—The desperate taking of Oostmaal.—Account of the battle, with an anecdote of the Arch Duke.—Returns to the Duke of

of Brunswick, after a most extraordinary journey of fatigue and danger.—Without stopping proceeds to the Hague, and gives a description of the battle to the Stadtholder.

DURING my absence from that city, the French had invested *Williamstadt*. *Breda* had surrendered to them without a blow, and the Duke Frederic of Brunswick, at the head of a small Prussian army, had already reached Bois le Duc. The approach of this Prince, induced the French to be somewhat more circumspect, and to make a retrograde movement; by this change of affairs, my plan necessarily fell to the ground. Nevertheless, I had no sooner explained myself, with the illustrious Prussian General, whom I found in the house of the Prince of Hesse Phillipsthal, than he dispatched me at the head of a detachment of huzzars, to penetrate as far into the country as I could, and to prevent, if possible, the transport of some forage, which the French had collected near Alphen, into Breda.

I left Bois le Duc, with my detachment, on the night of the 13th of March 1793, directing myself upon Tilbourgh, a Dutch village, where, though only three leagues from the garrison I had left, I found the tri-coloured cockade displayed. I collected the magistrates,
and

and ordered them to publish immediately through the town, that wherever I found the cockade of the French, in one hour from that moment, I would treat it as an enemy.

I here learnt that the French General, commanding in Breda, had sent out detachments into the country, towards *Hoogstraaten*, to force the farmers to send all their waggons during that night to Baerle-Hertog, for the purpose of transporting, on the following day, the forage they had been able to collect into the garrison. This appeared a measure of too great importance to be overlooked: notwithstanding therefore there was much to risque, by penetrating so far into the country, still the object was worthy an attempt, even though I was forced to pass the garrison of *Breda*, and consequently expose myself to the danger of being cut off. After having detached an officer, with some huzars to *Kaam* to destroy some forage I could not carry off, I marched by *Reil* to *Alphen*, a league from Baerle-Hertog. Here I lay upon my arms, till about two o'clock in the morning, watching the village, least intelligence of my approach should go to the enemy; leaving an officer and some huzars to occupy *Alphen*. I then proceeded to *Baerle-Hertog*, where I knew the Commissaries had directed the waggons and carts to assemble the preceeding night. I reached that village early

early in the morning, which I entered full speed in almost every direction.

The effects of this well concerted surprise were such as I expected; the Commissaries and their guard fled with the greatest precipitation towards *Breda*, insomuch that I was only able to take two prisoners of the huzars *de la liberté*. I however prevented the waggons from putting in execution the business for which the French had collected them; and after cutting down the *Bonnet Rouge* planted by the regicides, I began my retreat in the forenoon of the 15th of March towards Bois le Duc. When I left *Tirlebourg* on the 14th, I had dispatched a messenger to the Duc Frederic, acquainting him that I found it necessary to go on to *Alphen* that day, and might perhaps be obliged to go on still further; I therefore solicited his Serene Highness to send out a detachment of infantry to secure my retreat, otherwise my return would become problematic. I delayed no time in regaining the village of *Alphen*, where I found the detachment I left there forming *en bataille*, in consequence of some of the enemy's scouts having appeared at a distance.

After having reconnoitred the country and given some refreshment to my huzars, I continued my march under some anxiety, using every precaution to prevent surprise by the enemy,

enemy, who I was confident must have learnt the nature of my expedition, and the smallness of my force, and would probably attempt to cut off my retreat. I had not however proceeded far on my route, when I was met by a messenger, whom the Duke Frederic had sent to recall me, and to inform me that that very morning, the first column of his army had left *Bois le Duc*, and part of it would that evening reach *Tilbourgh*, whether I was directed to repair, and where my detachment was to return under the command of its proper officers, after which I was myself to join his Serene Highness.

This cheering intelligence removed all apprehensions of danger, and in the evening I reached *Tilbourgh* without having met with any opposition, there I found the officer who I had detached to *Kaam*, and who had executed the purpose of his mission. Here, in consequence of the Duke's order, I gave up my charge; but instead of going immediately to *Bois le Duc*, I conceived the idea of reconnoitring the posts occupied by the French in the environs of *Breda*. To effect this purpose, when midnight had scarcely yielded to the morning of the 16th of March 1793, taking with me a non-commissioned officer and a trumpet, *on my own authority*, I set out to summons *Breda*, about four or five leagues distant. I well knew that garrison could
be

be no strangers to the advance of the Prussian army, a circumstance which would give an air of truth to the *Ruse de Guerre* I meant to play upon them.

At day-light I approached the garrison, and summoned it to surrender to the Duke Frederic of Brunswick, for the King of Prussia with the usual formalities. My summons of course was but little attended to, but I had obtained all I wanted, a knowledge of the out-posts held by the enemy. It was now about seven o'clock in the morning, and I returned to *Bois le Duc* so much fatigued, that it was with difficulty I could sit my horse. I there found the Duke preparing to follow his second column to the village of *Oosterwyk* about a league distant, which he had appointed for his head-quarters. I reported to his Serene Highness the success of my expedition; he was but just setting off, and desired that I would dine with him at his new quarters.

This invitation was a command which I could not evade. I therefore hastened to my apartments to change my dress, which I had not been able to do for three days before; but my horses were no longer able to carry me, and my servants were so much fatigued, that I found they could not follow: I therefore borrowed a groom belonging to the *Chevalier d'Antras*, formerly a
page

page to the present King of France; for him I also borrowed a horse; and I myself mounted one which the Prince Frederic of Brunswick had lent me some time before, and then followed the Duke Frederic to *Oosterwyk*. I found his Serene Highness about to sit down to table; he placed me by him, and then informed me that, during my absence, he had received different letters from Prince Saxe Cobourgh, who, with the Austrian army, lay then between *Maestrich* and *St. Tronde*, and which rendered it indispensibly necessary for him to send to that Prince. His S. H. further observed, that, as I had been for some time in that country, and knew better than any of his officers could do the exact situation of the enemy, the British, the Dutch, and his own army, that he had a desire to send me, though he had felt much regret at imposing a task on me which could not but be irksome to one who had been on horseback since the night of the 12th. I told his S. H. that on the day of service neither fatigue or danger were considerations with a Briton, and that he would always find me ready to execute whatever he could command. To those who knew the gallant and amiable Duke, it is unnecessary to describe the effect which my answer had upon him; and to those who have not the happiness to know him it is a matter of little import. I will therefore only say, that before

before his S. H. rose from table, I was dispatched, attended by a huzar and the groom of *d' Antras*. I took peasants horses and a guide, from village to village, making a straight line upon *St. Tronde*. Arriving at *Hestell* on the night of the 17th of March, I learnt that Saxe Coburg was near *St. Tronde*, and that *Dumourier* in three numerous columns commanded by himself, Valence and Miranda were preparing to attack him, the situation of the Austrians was described to me as extremely critical; their numbers far inferior to that of the enemy, much fatigued by harrassing marches and almost without cannon; in short, it was the general opinion that they would be defeated.

As soon as the Mayor of *Hestell* could procure me horses and a guide, I continued my march on the post road to *St. Tronde*. As I approached that town, (very early on the 18th of March,) I heard very distinctly a heavy cannonade, and I met part of the Austrian baggage coming away in some disorder. I found the town in the utmost confusion, full of carriages, some driving off as fast as they could, and others waiting for horses; I then found that the two armies were seriously engaged, and the defeat of the Austrians from the great disparity of numbers was deemed unavoidable. With the assistance of the magistrates, I procured fresh horses and a pos-

tillion for a guide, and then went forth to look for Saxe Coburg in the field of action.

Being wholly unacquainted with the position of the armies, I left it to my guide to conduct me, which he did, until, to my surprise, I found myself in the rear of a French column. In such a position, there was little time for reflection, and I determined instantly to pass between this and another column, which I perceived at some distance on the right; the enterprise seemed fraught with danger, but it was authorised by necessity, as I could not tell whether there was not another French column to the left: in short it seemed to me, that the most certain and evidently the shortest road to the Austrian army, was through the French columns; this plan I adopted; I therefore directed my guide to look to his own safety: and telling the servant of *d'Antras* that it was not his business to die, I advised him to accompany the guide, (my huzar I had already dispatched the night before, towards *Dieß*,) but this intrepid boy refused to leave me. We then rode on at an easy pace, until we were on a line with the head of the columns most advanced. I could then perceive some part of the Austrians at a distance on my right front, and nearer and almost directly before me a body of cavalry; to those then I fled with all the speed the wretched horse on which

which I was mounted was capable of. In the bustle of action, I was not perceived by the French, but as I approached the front of the Austrians, an officer rode up to examine me, and a very few paces behind him, I perceived on foot, coming towards me, the gallant young Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who commanded that body of troops. I acquainted his S. H. that I was charged with a letter for Saxe Coburg, from the D. of B. and begged he would inform me, in what part of the battle I should find him; he assured me it was impossible to determine where he might be found, but to render it more easy for me, and to prevent me from falling into any of the positions occupied by the French, he sent an orderly officer with me. Between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 18th, I found Saxe Coburg at the head of one of his columns; after being announced in the brief manner of the field, I presented to him my letter, which he immediately read; and after asking me a few questions, begged I would attend the event of the day, that at night he hoped to have more time to speak to me. I of course joined the croud of officers, by whom he was surrounded, and from them I learnt that Colonel (then Captain) Crawford, Aid-du-Camp to his R. H. the Duke of York, had arrived before me, and was still there; indeed I perceived him

at a little distance. Having a letter of recommendation from the Duke Frederic, for General (then Colonel) Mack, I necessarily enquired for him; and on being told that indisposition had forced him to go to a short distance in the rear, where he was laying upon some straw, I intimated a desire to go to him; and an officer of the Prince's suite offered his services to conduct me. I found this eminently distinguished officer extremely ill, nevertheless he quitted his straw, and remounting his horse, accompanied me back to Saxe Coburg. After a short conversation with his Highness, partly on the subject of the letter, which I had just delivered to Colonel Mack, the Colonel had the goodness to propose to describe to me the order of battle. We rode towards a height occupied by Imperial troops, from whence I could distinctly see the heads of the enemies columns, and the various posts they held. I visited different parts of the position of the Austrians, and was filled with admiration, at the determined countenance which that handful of men; though almost exhausted by excessive fatigue, and labouring under every inconvenience to which a soldier can be exposed, shewed to an enemy, each of whose columns was nearly equal to their whole force, and whose front seemed covered with well served artillery.

The battle about this time, (the noon of the
18th

18th of March,) became very active in some parts; we rejoined the Commander in Chief, who was then at the head of a column, that bore at least its share in the service of that memorable day. As I had not then been presented to the Archduke, whom just then Colonel Mack perceived to have quitted his horse, and to be walking at a little distance from us, apparently to warm himself, he proposed to me to alight and he would present me. I dismounted immediately, and we walked towards his R. H. to whom the Colonel presented me, as a man recommended by the Duke F. of Brunswick. Some cannon shot at that moment striking the ground very near us, this gallant Prince addressing himself to me, said, "This is a rude drawing-room, Major."

A sort of pause in this part of the battle presently took place, which induced Saxe Coburg himself to dismount and join us for a few moments. One of the Archduke's servants then produced a small quantity of bread and cold meat, with a single bottle of wine, which he laid upon a napkin spread on the ground; having hastily partaken of this military repast, we remounted our horses. I then learnt that Captain Crawford had left the field, immediately after my arrival, in the forenoon, and was gone back to his R. H. the Duke of York, then with the

Hereditary Prince of Orange, at *Dortrecht*, where the British and Dutch guards lay.

The battle still continued doubtful, alternately raging and slackening in the different positions. The village of *Orsmael* had for some time been occupied by the enemy. Saxe *Co-burg* now determined to force it, and a body of troops was selected for that purpose; I was still mounted on the miserable post-horse, which had brought me to the field, nevertheless anxious to share in the daring enterprize about to be put in execution, I solicited leave to accompany the dragoons, and that a horse might be furnished me; but no horse was at hand, and there was no time for delay, I therefore rode on mounted as I was.

The affair though very short was inconceivably desperate. Our way to the village, was the high road from *St. Tronde*, to *Tirlemont*, (enclosed by trees and a deep ditch on each side.) The enemy had planted several pieces of cannon to defend the entrance, and kept up a very heavy fire along the avenue; we however advanced undismayed, though nearly every horse of the first squadron was either killed or disabled by an unusually furious discharge of artillery. There was no stopping, and those who were dismounted, were forced to move forward on foot, to avoid being rode over; for such was the confusion,

sion, owing to the incessant firing and smoke, which the closeness of the trees and drizzly weather would not suffer to ascend, that it was impossible to distinguish any object. For my own part, my poor post-horse having literally been blown from under me, I rushed forward with the croud, unable to know where I was, until I actually run against a cannon, which had been overset, and which the thickness of the smoke hindered me from perceiving, till I touched it.

The French being drove from this village, and some other positions they occupied, and being overthrown in another quarter, by General Clairfait, declined engaging further, and retired to the position they had left.

Thus the business of that day closed, just before sun-set, in a manner highly honourable to the Imperial troops. The approach of night and the superior numbers of the enemy, preventing Saxe Coburg from attempting to pursue. His army remained on the field of battle under arms, himself and the General Staff retiring to their quarters, at the villages of *Landen* and *Neerwinden*.

No sooner had the dawn of day appeared on the 19th, than the French columns were perceived in order of battle; the action consequently recommenced, and continued during that whole day with much obstinacy and various suc-

cess. The cool and determined bravery of the Austrians however prevailed over the rude numbers and impetuosity of the French; about four or five o'clock in the afternoon they gave way, and were pursued to Tirlemont, but night coming on, prevented them from being further annoyed. By this compleat victory, so truly glorious to Austria, Holland, was for that year, (1793) rescued from the destructive fraternal hug of the Conventionallists.

I cannot avoid relating an anecdote of the brave Archduke, which will shew more than any description I can give, the necessity in which the Austrian army were for bread. Riding over the field of battle, his Royal Highness observed a fine dressed Frenchman laying dead; the unusual smartness of the dead man's appearance, first attracted his notice; but perceiving a *black loaf* in his *havre sac*, he instantly alighted, and seizing the valuable prize, he exclaimed, "That gentleman did not suppose he was carrying this loaf for me."

The defeat of the enemy being perfectly ascertained, about nine o'clock in the evening, Saxe Coburg ordered a *feu de joye* the whole extent of his front. The army as the night before remained on the field of battle, and Saxe Coburg, the Archduke, and the Staff, retired again to the villages of Neerwinden and Landen ;
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to the latter I accompanied Saxe Coburg, we reached his quarters about ten o'clock in the evening, and while some refreshment was preparing I received my letters from the Duke Frederic of Brunswic, and his Serene Highness the Stadtholder; I then supped with the Field Marshal, and at midnight on the 19th, almost unable to carry my own weight, set off on my return to the village of *Oosterwyk*, where I had left the Prussian head-quarters.

I had now passed eight days almost continually on horse-back, and without once having had time to undress: the state I was in can be conceived much better than related; but my zeal for the good of the service, and my anxiety to carry the first intelligence of this so essential victory to the Duke Frederic, and to the Hague, enabled me to sustain the fatigue of the journey. I took the same road back, by which I had come to the Austrian army; and after much trouble to obtain horses, I reached *Oosterwyk* about ten o'clock, on the night of the 20th. I found Duke Frederic in his bed-room, standing and conversing with Captain, now Colonel Crawford, who had but a few moments before me arrived there, and who had acquainted his S. H. with the dangerous situation in which he left the Imperial army on the 18th.

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I detailed the circumstances of the victory to his S. H. and then obtained his permission to continue my journey to the Stadtholder at the *Hague*. I was by this time almost unable to move, I could no longer stand straight, and it had become necessary for me to be lifted off and on my horse; while we were taking some refreshment in the Duke Frederic's anti-chamber, horses were preparing for me, but Colonel Crawfurd, who was going to the Duke of York at Dortrecht, consequently a considerable part of my road, and who had a *cart and straw*, very politely offered me a place in his equipage; I accepted it, for even such a conveyance was an indulgence to me, and we instantly departed.

We went through *Bois le Duc*, the gates of that town having been opened to let us in, I suppose about one o'clock in the morning, and we drove immediately to a house where a carriage had been previously ordered for Colonel Crawfurd; and though in this town I had apartments, my servants, and my horses, I did not go near them, but contented myself, while the chaise was preparing, to write a line, which I delivered to the stable-keeper for General Douglas the Commandant, announcing to him the victory gained by the Austrians. The instant the chaise was ready we continued our rout; when near the passage to the island of
Dortrecht,

Dortrecht, I parted with Colonel Crawford, and continued my journey to the *Hague*, where I arrived about two o'clock on the morning of the 22d. I went immediately to Major General Bentinck, Aide-de-camp to his S. H. the Stadtholder, and with him to the palace. The Prince was informed of our arrival, and immediately rose to receive us. After giving his S. H. an accurate description of the battle, I was permitted to retire to a hotel, and to rest.

CHAP. XII.

The author sent for to court next morning, and forced to go dirty as he came from his journey.—Returns to Duke F. of Brunswic—Capitulation of Breda.—Saxe Coburg's great actions.—Those excite suspicions in the Convention, who sent to recall Dumourier.—Dumourier sends the Commissioners, and his intended successor, Bournonville, prisoners to Saxe Coburg.—The author arrives at Saxe Coburg's head-quarters.—Dumourier deserts with several others.—The author returns to Duke F. of Brunswic at Bois le Duc.—Finds the Duke indisposed.—Receives a most extraordinary and honourable commission in the Dutch service at the Hague.—Returns to Bois le Duc and prepares to take the field.—Is sent on political business

business to Brussels.—Is induced to leave that army, and go to the army of the Upper Rhine.—Situation of the army, and Characters of the Generals.—The King of Prussia leaves the field.—The reigning Duke of Brunswick succeeds him.—The author's distressed situation.—Retires to a small town in the interior.

BEFORE I went to bed I had purified myself as well as I was able from the inconveniences natural to my almost incredible exertions ; I had in fact neither enjoyed the comfort of a bed, a change of linen, nor a razor, for a week, during which I was hardly an hour out of my saddle. Once laid down I had resolved to recruit my strength with sleep, and had given orders that I should not be disturbed ; about eleven, however, a message came from the Court, commanding my attendance there, and inviting me to dinner ; though scarcely able to crawl, I obeyed this honourable summons, and proceeded to dress myself, but perhaps in such a fashion as never before appeared at that Court ; I had only an old blue jacket and pantaloons, which, sullied with the dirt I had collected in nine days, were proof against every effort of a brush, and I was forced to borrow a shirt of the person who kept the hotel ; thus equipped, however, to Court I went, but fatigue made a most awkward courtier of me.

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The Stadtholder most kindly did every thing to render me comfortable after this immense exertion; for though he himself set out to visit some forts the same afternoon, he recommended me to remain at the Hague to recover my strength, offering to answer to the Duke of Brunswic for my absence for three days.

I remained only two days, when, I returned to the Duke, by whom I was employed on different missions, chiefly to reconnoitre the enemies positions. The Duke of York had left *Dortrecht*, and was at that time approaching Antwerp by water, and the Prince of Orange with a small Dutch army was marching upon Breda, still in the possession of the French.

About the end of March, or 1st of April, he summoned it to surrender, and the garrison entered into a capitulation for that purpose; at this time the Duke Frederic sent me to Saxe Coburg, to know how affairs were going on in that quarter he commanded: me to pass by the way of the Dutch army lying before *Breda*, to receive the orders of the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who requested me to go to *Bergen-op-Zoom*, to the Duke of York who was then at that harbour on his way to Antwerp; and to inform his Royal Highness that *Breda* had capitulated: I obeyed his directions, and then took
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the road for Bruffells, in which neighbourhood I expected to find Saxe Coburg.

In the short space of hardly a month had that gallant Prince drawn the immense army of the Convention through all Brabant; he had already pursued them beyond *Mons*, and was preparing to invest *Velenciennes*. These victories occasioned the fall of Dumourier, and indeed seemed so extraordinary, that the Convention sent four commissioners to direct him to appear before them; and appointed Bournonville, who accompanied them, to command provisionally in his absence.

Dumourier, who foresaw what would be the event of his journey to Paris, and was unwilling to have his conduct made the subject of enquiry by those that were ignorant of military operations, without delay seized on the commissioners, together with his destined successor, Bournonville, and sent them to Saxe Coburg: I met them at Bruffells, on the evening of the 4th April, under the charge of an Austrian officer, who was conducting them to *Maeßricht*.

From this officer, I learnt that the head-quarters were at *Mons*, whither I immediately repaired; and on my arrival, about four o'clock in the morning of the 5th of April, seeing a centinel standing at the gate of the inn where I alighted, I enquired who lodged there. To my
great

great surprise I was told the French General Valence. I asked whether he was a prisoner, but was answered that he had *deserted*, and had arrived there a few days before, and that he received all the honours of an Austrian General. I then went to Saxe Coburg's head-quarters; he was in bed, but I was immediately introduced to him; while I was yet by his bed-side, one of his Aid-du-Camps came into the room, to announce that *Dumourier*, *Egalité*, (alias Duc de Chartres,) *Sullivan*, *Baptiste*, and another, (*Montjoy*, I think) were then in the anti-chamber, sent in by General Clairfait, to whom they had deserted; they were immediately ushered into the Field-Marshal's presence, and I withdrew. Their interview lasted some time, and the event was, that in a few hours, a sort of proclamation appeared, which, as it is so well known, I will pass over.

At the Field-Marshal's table, I that day met these extraordinary deserters, each wearing the three-coloured cockade. After dinner the Prince called me aside, and telling me that in half an hour he would give me a letter for the Duke F. of Brunswic, and that he wished me to hasten back to inform his Serene Highness, and the other Commanders, that *Dumourier* had come over, and that he meant to bring him

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to Antwerp, where a meeting of the Commanding Generals, and some ministers of the allies, was to be held on the 7th of April.

In consequence of my orders, I set out immediately to carry my intelligence to the Duke Frederic of Brunswic, at Bois le Duc, who being prevented by indisposition from attending the meeting at Antwerp, had deputed General Knobeldorff in his place. Breda laying very little out of my road, I went that way to announce Dumourier's *change of position*, to the Hereditary Prince of Orange. By the road, as I expected, I met the Stadtholder on his way to the conference, to whom I communicated the welcome intelligence in his carriage, and then proceeded to the place of my destination.

I found the Duke still indisposed, and seemingly dissatisfied; he talked of retiring, and I fancied he was rather chagrined than sick. I remained with him, going on such expeditions as he chose to command, until persisting in his resignation, he prepared to depart. I then applied to his Serene Highness the Stadtholder, to place me in the Staff of his army. I was immediately appointed, and received the commission of Major, in the service of the United States, on the 6th of May 1793; but on account of my exertions on the expedition at *Baerle-Hertog*, my commission

commission bears in its body the date of March 15th, from which day my rank in the Dutch army takes place.

I remained at the Hague for a few days, and then returned to Bois le Duc, to prepare my equipage for taking the field. The Dutch army was collecting, and advancing towards the more active theatre of war. After being employed on different services, I was, at length, while the Dutch lay at *Menin*, and its environs, fixed for a time at Brussels, for a political purpose. On my return from thence to head-quarters, an event happened, which induced me to leave that army immediately, even without permission, though not without announcing my departure, nor did I conceal the place of my retreat; it was to the army on the Upper Rhine.

The King of Prussia was there at the head of his own army. *Mayence* had fallen, after an obstinate resistance, and was taken possession of in his own name; he afterwards prepared to invest *Landau* in *Alsace*, and was before it at the time I arrived.

I acquainted his Majesty candidly, with my reasons for having left the army of the Low Countries. I did not at the same time conceal the very hasty mode of my departure; to all which my relation, this illustrious Prince attentively and graciously listened. Full of the highest confidence

fidence in his justice, generosity, and discernment, I ventured to implore his royal protection, and permission to stay with his army. This I the more boldly did, as I well knew him to be a soldier, and perfectly incapable of any thing but great and benevolent actions. He was indeed endued with a soul which was worthy the exalted station he held.

I likewise made my situation known to the gallant veteran General Wurmser, who commanded the Austrian army, and who, though far advanced in years, seemed to lose all sense of his age in the hour of exertion; he then indeed shewed all the fire of youth; and if he fell short in activity, his knowledge, his skill, and the maturity of his judgment, more than compensated for the deficiency.

The reigning Duke of Brunswick was with the Prussian army, and was left to command, when his Prussian Majesty took the resolution to retire to his own territories. The brave Condé was there with his little army of heroes, but never was General better qualified to command the most numerous. When he, from power, from extreme wealth and splendor, was with the whole of the nobility of France, swept away from his habitation, by the revolutionary torrent, he did not despair. Deprived of his riches, he abridged his expences; from a truly princely
beard

board reduced his dinner to a few dishes, and invited always a certain number of his followers in rotation. In the field with his little army he did every thing that could be performed; and so compleatly master is he of every part of the science of war, that he commanded the good wishes of all who knew how to appreciate his merits. His private life was in the highest degree amiable; a sincere friend, a polished and cheerful companion; the evenness of his disposition, and the benignity of his heart, attached to him all who approached him.

Soon after the affair of *Pirmasens* and *Weissembourg*, the King of Prussia withdrew from the field, and returned to his own dominions, leaving (as I before observed,) the gallant reigning Duke of Brunswick to command the Prussian army. This distinguished General's astonishing talents I will not attempt to describe, as they far transcend my abilities; but to him, and to every other General, I have endeavoured to do ample justice in a publication I now do myself the honour to announce, and of which I have already given some intimation. This will contain a complete account, illustrated with the most accurate maps and plans of every remarkable movement made by the allied armies during the three first campaigns of the war. As accurate plans are not easily forced to de-

ceive, military men, who were not there, will then have an opportunity of judging whether the Generals I have named, did or did not deserve my praise.

When the King of Prussia retired, all my hopes vanished into air; ruined in my fortunes, without home, without expectation of employ whichever way I turned my eyes, the prospect was equally dreary; and, as if the hand of fate was lifted to my destruction, I just then received a desperate wound, under the pain of which I long languished.

Worn out with fatigue, fainting with the loss of blood, and still more tortured with the anguish arising from the contemplation of the immensity of my undeserved misfortunes, a retreat was necessary; but, alas! where was I to find it? or who would open a hospitable door to a poor wounded soldier, though I hope, at least, in that capacity not degraded? These melancholy reflections had reduced me to a shadow, and I looked forward to death as the most desirable of events. Thus circumstanced I was induced to take up my residence in a little town of the interior, till my health should again enable me to draw my sword.

CHAP. XIII.

The author's affair with Mrs. S.—Character of Col. S.—The author sets out for Augsburg in Suabia, accompanied by Mrs. S.—Becomes acquainted with Baron D'Ompfeda.—Reaches Augsburg.—Suddenly arrested there, on the requisition of the the Baron D'Ompfeda.—The Baron arrives at Augsburg, and makes some vague general charges.—Demands all the author's papers in the name of his Britannic Majesty.—The author writes to Mr. Dundas.—Was extremely well treated during his confinement.—Receives a letter from Mr. Walpole with an official denial on the part of the British government, of any knowledge of the transaction.—Decree of the Senate of Augsburg.—Remarks on the decree of the Senate.—Kind behaviour of Mr. Walpole.

IT has been hitherto my study to conceal female frailties; for though I by no means pretend to the character of a stoic, there is a baseness in publishing any thing which can hurt the feelings of those whom heaven meant us to protect, which my soul abhors. Yet I am now obliged to bring forward to the public an amiable woman, who owes her misfortunes to her husbands

brutality; a woman who, adorned by very polite accomplishment, and calculated by nature to charm, would be an everlasting fund of happiness to the man who had sense to esteem her worth.

Colonel S. was the husband of this lady; and he of all men least knew, and least deserved female merit in a companion; insensible alike to love and honour, he regarded a wife only for what she brought him; if her purse was but to his mind, he cared not for her person. This extraordinary Colonel having published a most scurrilous pamphlet concerning me, I shall give the public some opportunity of judging between us: not that I should notice any of his libels so far as I am alone concerned; but as his wife, and even her relations, or those whom he thought proper to call so, came in for so large a share of misrepresentation and abuse, that the sale of his work was stopped for fear of a prosecution; I feel myself called upon to refute his calumnies. However, we are not the only objects of his scurrility, as some time before, without knowing how to write, he published a pamphlet in which he abuses almost every man whose name he knows, and has even the impudence to level, particularly the low slander of his malignant pen, at that illustrious character
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the Earl of Elgin ; fortunately for the author, the blackguard stupidity of the performance took away its sting.

His origin is not worth tracing, but he first ranked as a Colonel in 1786, among the revolutioners in Brabant ; whence after their defeat he fled to Paris. He there became acquainted with his wife, who used to visit a family of respectability, with whom he was in some degree of intimacy. The lady was not then quite seventeen, and through his persuasions, was induced to consent to a private marriage. This step, as might be expected, much offended her father, who refused to give any fortune to the Colonel, but, consented to allow her a yearly income for her own use ; which the Colonel however turning to his purposes, she became obliged to send her little bills for millinery and such like to the old gentleman. Finding how the money he allowed was employed, he withdrew that fund, but continued to pay her bills.

This gallant Colonel next applied himself to the Princes of France, who were just then gone to Coblenz, soliciting leave to raise a regiment for them. As he knew the effects of beauty on men of professed gallantry, he constantly made his wife the bearer of his messages ; thus at once exposing her to every temptation, and plainly

proving to the world that he did not think her virtue a price by any means, too high for his own promotion. Still however her fame remained unsported; nor was it till she was most cruelly treated by him, till blows were added to insults of every other kind, and till she was left unprotected in a garrison town, amidst several hundred officers, each of whom was striving to shew himself as far as possible the contrast of her husband, that she fell.

That she fell into my hands, was more owing to the gentleness of her own heart than my desert. True it is that I left nothing undone that I could devise; but though she seemed to view my situation with pity, for I was then sick and distressed, and she had seen me in highly honourable circumstances, and the favourite of the great, it was long before a tender passion took place.

After some time I went to Augsburg in Suabia, and in my road thither, passed through Ratibon. Here, among others, I became acquainted with the Baron D'Ompeda, Hanoverian Envoy to the diet; I likewise had the pleasure of finding the Count de Goertz, who had, as I before mentioned, given me a letter of recommendation, while Prussian minister in Russia, to his brother at Potsdam, who was Aid-de-camp

camp to Frederic the Great, when I visited that celebrated garrison in the end of the year 1784.

The severity of my indisposition had delayed me many weeks upon the road, and my expences had already far exceeded my calculation; the trifling sum too, which was yet due to me from the army, was by my own appointment to be remitted to me, at the place of my destination: I therefore at leaving *Ratisbon*, borrowed 32 louis of the Baron D'Ompeda, for which I gave him my bill.

I continued my journey, and reached *Augsbu*rg without any material occurrence; but I had not been many days there, before I met with an adventure disagreeable enough for the time. As soon as I was fixed at my hotel, I communicated to the Right Honourable H. Dundas a plan which I had formed, and which though a very bold one had been honoured with the approbation of several distinguished military characters. For its execution I had found near three hundred volunteers; the majority of them had been officers under Louis XVI. and all asked no other reward than the sanction of the British government, and to proceed to the attack under my direction. I was now so far recovered, that I felt myself ready to bleed again; and I once more ventured to cherish hopes, that I might be suffered to profit by my exertions without further

ther molestation, or persecution; **promptness**, courage, and my sword were my **only fortune**, nor could I so thriftily employ it as in the **harvest** of danger.

I flattered myself with vain expectations, **for** at that moment, a new persecution was **levelled** at me, from a quarter whence I least **expected** so base an attack.

It was I believe on the first of December 1793. I was sitting on a sofa, in the room I occupied, in my hotel, in the very act of sealing a **second** letter to Mr. Dundas, renewing my solicitations to be employed in the enterprise I **had** already described to him. Mrs. S. was sitting by me, little suspecting that any evil **awaited** us—when in a moment, two different **folding** doors, which opened into my room, at **opposite** angles, were violently burst open, and I **was** instantaneously encircled, by a detachment of infantry, to the number of thirty-six. They were commanded by a Lieutenant, who told me I was his prisoner; I asked him on what **account**, but this he refused to tell me, or by **what** authority he came to arrest me; I therefore **refused** to obey, and assumed a position of **resistance**, till I should be satisfied by what right he presumed to act in such a manner. The acting Burgomaster was at hand, and immediately **entering** the room, assured me that the magistrates **were**

were themselves ignorant of the *cause*, but that my arrest was in consequence of a request, made by Baron D'Ompsteda, the *Hanoverian Envoy*, at *Ratisbon*, in the name of his *Britannic Majesty*.

His letter having been read to me, I surrendered immediately, as I knew that the city of *Augsburg*, at the request of any Sovereign Prince of the Empire, is bound by law to arrest any person and detain him for a reasonable time, to see if any charge is brought forward against him. Nevertheless I could by no means comprehend for what cause his *Britannic Majesty* had desired my arrest, and I was equally at a loss to know how the *Hanoverian Envoy*, could act in the name of the Court of Great Britain, when there was a British Envoy then actually resident at *Ratisbon*. Besides, my conscience told me that I had never by any act whatever done, or meant to do, the smallest harm to the person or interests of my Sovereign, towards whom I had ever borne the most unshaken affection and loyalty.

With these reflections I consoled myself; at the same time that I endeavoured to assuage the alarm of the unfortunate lady, who had accompanied me; I assured her that there *must* be some mistake in the business, that a few days *must* clear the whole up, and then I should be set at liberty.

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That night I remained at the hotel, under a guard of thirty-six men; but as such a croud occasioned much confusion and trouble in the house, and I was unwilling to put the master to such inconvenience, I was next morning, at my own request, removed to the town-house. Two very comfortable apartments were prepared for me; an officer attended me, and there were constantly four soldiers in the anti-chamber; I was likewise refused the use of pen and ink, and my papers were all seized; but Mrs. S. was permitted to come to me every morning, and remain till evening, but always in the presence of the officer.

The moment of my arrest, an express had been sent off to Ratibon, to Baron D'Ompbeda, and we waited with some impatience the charges he was to exhibit against me. In a few days the Baron arrived, and came to the very hotel where I had lodged, and where Mrs. S. still continued to reside; he found fault in a very high tone, at the permission she had to visit me, mysteriously pretending that my crimes were of great magnitude, but still without condescending to particularize *even one*.

Augsburg being a free imperial city, governed by its own senate, in whom the sovereignty resides, he was obliged to give some sort of account of the authority under which he demanded me
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to be arrested and detained in *close-custody*. He now dared, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, to require that all my papers should be delivered to him and his advocate, whom, (the more to shew that he acted in an official capacity,) he styled his *charge d'affairs*, for their inspection.

The consequence of his making this demand in such a high official style, and in the name of the King, was my arrestation, a translation of the decree, for which purpose, I here annex, the original in German being deposited with the publisher.

TRANSLATION.

EXTRACT.

PROTOCOLLI CONSULARIS.

(Done at Augsburgh 11th December 1793.)

“ His Excellency Baron D’Ompteda, *minister of the king of Great Britain and Elector of Brunswick Luneburg*, at the diet of Ratisbone, after having examined the papers of Mr. Lisle, declares, in the quality of requirer, in the name of *his British Majesty*, for the imprisonment of Mr. Lisle, calling himself a Dutch Major, as a Scotch subject; and being under the necessity of going
from

from hence, in the course of to-morrow, he appoints Mr. Kephallides, I. U. D. present at the perusing of the aforesaid papers, for his *chargé d'affaire* in the whole cause."

My confinement was therefore continued in a still closer manner. Mrs. S. was denied the liberty of seeing me, and even my two servants were from the first, as closely confined as myself. A croud of circumstances now pressed upon my mind, and a kind of elucidation of my mysterious imprisonment, seemed to glimmer before me. I recollected that Baron D'Ompteda, had always attempted to be *particular* with Mrs. S. and he might probably think that my confinement, and his threats would starve and intimidate her into compliance. In my own conduct I could find nothing of which his Britannic Majesty had any reason to complain. I therefore applied to the magistrates for leave to write to the British Government, which being granted, I sent the following letter to Mr. Dundas, to whom I had indeed before found means of privately writing a few lines.

"To the Right Honourable HENRY DUNDAS.

"SIR,

"AUGSBURG, Jan. 7, 1794.

"I HAVE already had the honor to acquaint you, with the very singular manner in which

which I have been arrested and confined *au secret* by the Baron D'Ompbeda, in the name of the King, without, however the Baron having shewn any order for such conduct; that arrest still continues, to-morrow it is five weeks since it commenced.

"As a British subject, Sir, permit me to request that you will be pleased to say, whether the British Government has any demands on my person? And whether the Baron D'Ompbeda has been charged to arrest me in the name of his Majesty? And if such an order has been given, at what time it was forwarded to the Baron? This is a justice which a British Minister will not deny, and which will enable me to expose and punish a man, who I am convinced searches my destruction, in hopes by that means to remove a barrier, which lays between him and the possession of a woman, by whose charms he is captivated.

"The unrelenting fury with which he persecutes me, and the act of oppression with which he disgraces himself, and the diplomatique body, by committing, prove that he is actuated by some motive which touches him nearly, and that motive must be what I suspect.

"You well know, Sir, that in spite of the disadvantages which I labour under, no man has been more indefatigable than I have been to re-
cover

cover myself; I have continually solicited the most desperate expeditions from yourself. And the general officers under whom I have served will vouch that while at the army, I was ever close to the points of the enemy's bayonets. As a proof of my good conduct, Sir, at a moment when I was without protection, and surrounded by malignant enemies, the first Captains under heaven gave me their confidence, and the Prince of Orange, as a reward for my alacrity gave me a Majority in the army of the state.

"I rely on your justice as a minister, your humanity I have already experienced: and have the honor to be, with all that respect, to which your personal merit, and high situation intitle you,

" Sir,

" Your most humble

" And very devoted servant,

(Signed)

" I. G. LISLE,

Major."

" Please, Sir, to observe that I complain not of the magistrates of this place, far from it; they are perfectly disposed to humanity and justice, they only comply with the request made in the name of the King: was such a request made with authority, I myself would bow with submission."

I was

I was extremely well treated during my confinement, an excellent table being kept for me ; and my servants were boarded at a considerable expence in the town house. A table was likewise kept for Mrs. S. at our hotel in the same style as we had lived there, of which I need hardly say, that it was not inelegant. In the mean time she had addressed a letter to Mr. Walpole, his Britannic Majesty's minister at Munich, in which she had stated the case so far as came to her knowledge.

I had remained in prison about six weeks from the time I had wrote to Mr. Dundas, anxiously expecting some determination from the court of Great Britain, when Mr. Walpole wrote to me, and transmitted the following extract of a letter from Lord Grenville : " The " British government has not demanded the " arrestation of Major Lisle, nor has his British Majesty any cause of complaint against " him."

Baron D'Ompeda had given orders that all letters addressed to me should be stopped at the post-office ; but this being directed to me at the town-house, went to the magistrates, who opened and sent it to me in that state. I at first refused to receive it, and asked them if they did not know that it came officially from a British minister. They replied, that they

L. did ;

did; but that D'Ompsteda, in the character of his Majesty's Envoy, had taken all consequences upon himself; and thus was I forced for the time, to submit to the insults of a man, who, intrenched deep in his diplomatic situation, evaded the effects of law, which justly awaited the audacious imposition he had practiced on the Senate of *Augsburg*, by profaning the name of his royal master.

The consequence of Lord Grenville's declaration was, that I was immediately discharged from prison, and the Senate pronounced the following decree :

(TRANSLATION.)

(Decree of the Senate of Augsburg.)

TUESDAY, the 11th of *March*, 1794.

" HIS Excellency Baron D'Ompsteda, Minister Plenipotentiary of the *Electoral of Brunswick Lüneburg*, at the diet of Ratibon, having requested the arresting of Major Lisle, pretending he was an impostor, and having taken on himself every consequence of this imprisonment, and making himself answerable for it, his request was granted. But as his Excellency has not justified this imprisonment, either by the charges

charges of which he accused the Major, and which were partly of no consequence, partly not verified, or having shewn any authority from the British Court, (which, as he declared, was interested in these charges) for making the request of arresting him in its name, or having justified it on account of the reclamation of 32 Louis, lent to the Major, this imprisonment of which the expences fall on his Excellency is finished, and the Major enlarged on conditions of engaging himself on *parole d'honneur*, not to leave this town or its territory without having paid the 32 Louis. With regard to further satisfaction, the Major, according to his own declaration, must address himself to the King, his master.

"Also, that the paper exhibited the 20th of January, *cum adjunctis*, shall be communicated *in copia* to Dr. Kaphalides, his Excellency's Attorney."

(L. S.)

I must here intreat the reader to observe the different style in which the Baron is described in this, and in the decree of arrestation, in which he is called, "*Minister of the King of Great Britain and Elector of Brunswic Luneburg*," as he

had announced himself: But now the veil of imposition was removed, and they style him what he really was, "*Minister Plenipotentiary of the Elector of Brunswick Luneburg*;" and to the person whom he appointed *charge d'affairs*, they give the title only of *Attorney*. The charges he brought against me are severely, but justly characterized, and his pretended authority declared not to exist. But the disgrace of the transaction did not perhaps wound the Baron so deep as the expences; for as he had taken every consequence upon himself, he was ordered to pay all that had been incurred by my arrest, amounting to a sum far exceeding my ideas, and far too heavy for his purse to bear without much inconvenience. I positively refused to submit to that part of the decree, which required me to give my word not to leave the territories of Augs- burg, till I had paid the Baron his 32 Louis- d'ors; for as I could obtain no satisfaction for my imprisonment without the tedious, and perhaps fruitless mode of applying to court, I was resolved to detain the only trifling indemnity I could hope for.

I was much indebted on this disagreeable occasion to Mr. Walpole, who shewed me many essential marks of friendship. I cannot attribute these to any personal attachment, as I had only seen him in my way to Augsburg, as I
passed

passed Munich; but the gross insult offered to him in his official capacity, by a man who dared to his face usurp his privileges for the worst of purposes, to serve which he likewise audaciously prostituted the name of his Sovereign, might induce him to enquire into the affair; an enquiry would convince him of the injury I was sustaining by such close and unwarrantable confinement, and this probably made him consider me as entitled to his protection.

CHAP. XIV.

More accounts of the nature of the author's confinement.—Finds means to convey a letter to the Duke Frederick of Brunswick.—Receives a letter from that great General in the most flattering terms.—Receives indulgences from the magistrates.—Writes a letter to Baron D'Ompeda.—Copy of it.—The Baron rather chuses to sit down disgraced, than to give the satisfaction required.—Goes to Manheim.—A droll manœuvre there.—Receives a bayonet wound.—Proceeds to Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, where he finds Colonel S. has been bullying in his absence.—Goes to Holland, hears the same accounts, but cannot find the Colonel.—Arrives in

*England, where the Colonel has been more loud;
seeks him by every stratagem and in every place,
but in vain.*

I MUST now return again to what passed during my confinement ; I had one servant assigned me by the Senate to attend on me, and to him I was obliged to speak in the language which the officer who was with me understood. My diet and lodging was perfectly good, and even elegant. Notwithstanding all this strictness, I however found the means of conveying a letter to the Duke Frederic of Brunswick, praying of that justly renowned General to give me a certificate of service. This letter was forwarded through the means of a Prussian officer who was there recruiting for the Duke's own regiment.

The brave Duke Frederic, with that soldier-like promptness which distinguishes every action of his life, immediately sent me a most flattering certificate, which I likewise contrived to receive privately. As soon as I had read it, I sent it to the Senate, who were astonished how I could manage such a business ; but though they were very desirous of knowing *how* it was done, I gave them no satisfaction on that subject.

About a week before the arrival of Lord Grenville's letter, the burgomasters plainly perceiving

ing that D'Ompsteda could not bring forward even the shadow of a charge against me, and suspecting from various circumstances that he acted in the name of his Britannic Majesty without authority, gave me the liberty of walking about the town with a single guard, more by way of form than security. The first use I made of this privilege, was to write to the Baron in a manner to try whether he could shelter his want of courage, as well as his want of honour behind his diplomatic character.

That letter having had no effect, I sent him another in French which I made public, and of which the following is an exact translation*.

" To his Excellency BARON D'OMPTEDA.

" Hanoverian Envoy,

" Ratisbon.

" Give me leave, Sir, to demand an explanation of your conduct towards me.

" 1st. By what title or by what right have you had the temerity to order me to be arrested? was it as Minister to his Britannic Majesty? But were you, Sir, invested with that character? You who are only received at the Diet of *Ratisbon* as

* For the original, see the Appendix.

Minister of the Elector of Brunswick Luneburg, and in whom the Senate of Augsbourg has only acknowledged that title in its decree of the 11th of March 1794, which is here subjoined.

“ You have then done wrong to assume the quality of Minister of his Britannic Majesty, as in the act done at Augsbourg the 11th of December 1793, of which I send you a faithful extract. It is not then by this title that you can have any authority over me.

“ Was it as being authorized by his Britannic Majesty? But how could you have the impudence to make the assertion? When you know that the real Minister of the Court of Great Britain, at Ratisbon, has declared that his Court has not demanded my arrestation, and that the King has no subject of complaint against me.

“ 2dly. Supposing you to have been invested with all the titles which you have had the presumption to arrogate to yourself, did my conduct merit such hard treatment on your part? The flattering testimonials and honourable employment which have been bestowed on me by the Princes, under whose standards I have served, sufficiently vindicate my actions.

“ I will not here speak of my campaigns in the service of Russia, nor of those I made in America, in the army of his Britannic Majesty, my Sovereign; but I speak of the manner in which I displayed

displayed myself in 1793, when fighting under the commands of his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick Oels, and afterwards those of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange. The honourable rank which this August Prince granted me in the armies of their High Mightinesses, proves the confidence he reposed in me; and if I have been deficient in my duty, it is for him, not for you to complain of it.

“ After having made me undergo the most unjust vexations, by condemning me for three months to the horrors of a prison, where I, as well as my servants were detained in the closest custody; and after I have staid another month in this city in order to give you time to prove the accusations you brought against me, of which you were unable to verify even one; there remains for you now, Sir, only to give me an explanation of these iniquitous proceedings; you know the kind of reparation I demand; you wished to disgrace me before the face of Europe, and it is before the face of Europe that I demand the satisfaction due to me.

“ I wait your answer,

“ And am, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

“ J. G. LISLE,

March 1794.

“ Major.”

Previous to these transactions I had prevailed on Mrs. S. to leave Augsbourg; for as there seemed to me no end to the Baron's shuffling and chicane, I who was no way versed in such practices, was determined to give him an invitation, to finish the affair a little more in my own way: I was therefore anxious to remove her from a probable scene of distress. The letters I sent him certainly contained hints plain enough to be taken; as he, however, seemed very dull of apprehension, I determined to speak still plainer; but as I found him equally insensible to the calls of honour, or the stings of insult, and that he shrunk behind his *diplomacy*, I left him, fully satisfied, that his courage, his honesty, his veracity and his modesty were all upon a par.

As it was evidently in vain to seek any satisfaction from such a character, beyond what I had already received, through the decree of the Senate of Augsbourg, I determined to give up the pursuit; I therefore set out for the Low Countries, leaving the Baron, sufficiently incumbered by the expences his folly had incurred, an object of scorn and ridicule to all who knew the story.

At *Manheim*, I found it necessary to stop a few days; during which, as I was not travelling with my usual splendor, I remained *incog*. On my arrival in that town, I was very much surprised

prised to find a guard placed upon me; I naturally enquired what was the reason of such treatment, and was told that it was in consequence of the conduct of the Dutch and British recruiting officers. These gentlemen used, it seems, to hold out such encouragement to recruits, as the Bavarian troops could not withstand, but used frequently to desert to enlist with them; a general order had therefore been given to place a guard on every officer of either country that might arrive there.

I immediately sent a message to the Fort Major, to inform him, that if he had looked at the report I made at the gate of the town on my entering, he would have seen that I could be by no means looked upon as a recruiter; I concluded with saying, that such being the case, I expected my guard to be instantly removed. As he did not think proper to send me any immediate answer, I determined at once to be revenged on him, and to remove this obnoxious attendant; entering therefore into conversation with my centinel, I prevailed upon him to desert, to which indeed he made very little objection, except the difficulty of getting away. This was easily obviated, by putting him into my own chaise, in which I sent him to the adjacent town of *Worms*, where an officer of my acquaintance lay, recruiting for the regiment of Salm
then

then in the pay of Britain. This was a dangerous business, but the pleasure of outwitting the wise heads of the place was irresistible; nor indeed did any considerations of danger ever prevent a plan I had formed.

In the evening, a non-commissioned officer arrived, with an apology for not attending earlier to my message, which was owing to the absence of the Comandant of the place. He next enquired for the sentinel, who was not to be found, and as I could give no account of him, it was immediately concluded that he had deserted through my persuasions and assistance; but as the secret lay between him and me, it was in vain to make enquiries.

I left *Manheim* and passed through *Worms*, where I saw my deserter who had already put on the British uniform; but my chief reason for going that way was to solicit the protection of that highly distinguished General Field Marshal Mollendorff, who was in that neighbourhood. Just then some affairs of posts took place, not far from where I was; curiosity induced me to become a near spectator, in consequence of which I received a wound with a bayonet in my breast, which detained me some time at the house of a friend near *Bingen*.

When I was so far recovered as to be able again to travel, I proceeded to *Cologne*, and thence to *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

At

At *Aix-la-Chapelle*, I learnt that Colonel S. the husband of the lady who was with me at Augsbourg, had been vowing the direst vengeance against me; as soon as I knew this, I begun a very strict search after this furious antagonist, but to no purpose; the Colonel had *prudence* in his anger, and very studiously avoided my presence.

I then passed into Holland, where I again heard of this redoubtable champion, who had been loud in his threats of revenge; but here as at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, I could only find the *echo*, for the man was invisible. I had not been many days in England before I heard of the same threats of vengeance; thus aggravated by repeated provocations, I determined to find him if possible, and with this view sought him in every place where he was likely to be found; I even went to Messrs. Learmonth's and Beazley's, in Parliament-street, where he almost took up his residence, and after much conversation with these gentlemen, left an open letter for him, but this was insufficient to bring him forward.

The world will hereafter hear of this extraordinary Colonel no more from me; and if he chuses to attack me again with his pen, I shall refer them *for his veracity* to *Monsieur de Calonne*, and the records of the Court of King's Bench.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The author's reasons for returning to England.—He waits on the Ministers with some proposals which are rejected.—Becomes involved in another misfortune.—Is about to proceed to the Continent, and put back by a storm.—Apprehended and taken to Bow-street.—Repeated examinations there.—Ridiculous charges made against him.—Would have been discharged but for Mr. Flood.—Is tried and convicted, but retains many valuable friends.—Mr. Burke's friendly interference; copies of letters from him.—Mr. Boswell, with one of his letters.—Remarks of the author's friends.

THE ill usage I had received on the lower Rhine, by the repetition of things, which my conduct, during the time I had been with the army, ought to have cancelled, had driven me away; in fact, had I been contented to act simply in the routine of duty, I might have remained unnoticed; but as I had nothing to depend on but my sword, and the friends it might gain me, I had only to do bold and daring things, or to remain in want and obscurity. I had therefore on every occasion courted danger
and

and exertion; and I had gained the good opinion of the most distinguished Generals, by whose friendship (which I had determined that my conduct if possible should cement,) I seemed rapidly mounting to honour and independence. Then it was that men whom indolence, or something worse, prevented from following my example, begun to envy my success, and they determined by the basest arts to ruin the man they could not imitate.

As the Prussians had retired from the field, my hopes from that quarter were at an end; but as I had received a liberal offer from a Sovereign Prince of Germany, to raise men on very moderate terms for the British service, I found it necessary to repair to England to endeavour to conclude the business. I laid my proposals before the proper officer, but they were not accepted, notwithstanding I had full * powers (which are still in my possession,) to contract for raising a regiment of 1800 men, and my zeal in a business, which offered me so many advantages, could hardly be doubted.

I now come to that part of my history, which has been sufficiently made the subject of public discussion, and for which I now am suffering, how meritoriously let others say. I

* Those papers are in the hands of the publisher.

had bought of a linen-draper, near Welbeck-street, a quantity of cambric and other articles for which I paid him ready money; on the goods being sent home, there appeared to be not quite enough for the purpose they were intended for, and I some time after went to the shop to compleat the deficiency. I had before mentioned to the shop-keeper, that I was about to return to the army, and should want some linen. I again mentioned this circumstance to him, and he shewed me a shirt, which he thought would answer my purpose, but of which sort he had but a very few made. I proposed calling another day, when I should return to town with a person who was a better judge than myself of the value of such articles; but like all other tradesmen, anxious to sell, he requested that I should take it with me, and absolutely put it into my servant's hand to carry home. If it did not meet with approbation I was to return it the first opportunity, but if it was liked I was to order the quantity for which I should have occasion.

I was taken ill very shortly after this event, and not being able, on account of various disappointments, to pay the money for a couple dozen such shirts, I did not return; but continually in the hope that I should receive cash, which I had reason to expect, I delayed from day

day to day; but my difficulties encreased, and amidst a multitude of troubles, the shirt was totally forgotten, and I was again going to join the army on the Upper Rhine, once more to try my fortune. I had embarked on board the *Rheinhausen*, of *Hamburgh*, in December 1794; but the ship in a tempest having been drove on shore at *Sheerness*, and having received much damage, I came to town till she was repaired.

On my return to London, the son of an old acquaintance, who lent me some money, thought proper to have me apprehended; his charge against me was however laughed at; but no sooner was the matter known, than persons who had never seen me, came to swear to frauds committed upon them by me. Among the number, a hatter and hosier, in *Oxford-Street*, swore positively to my having cheated him of a bundle of silk stockings and two hats. I was thunder-struck to hear such an accusation, as I had never seen the man before, and still more when he swore to the 14th of June. On Mr. Bond asking him whether any other person could swear to me, he produced his shopman and an apprentice boy, both of whom swore positively that I was the person who had defrauded their master. When I heard the time assigned for the transaction, I was perfectly easy as to the event, being confident that I could readily

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prove

prove my having been upon the Rhine at that time, and for some months after. Mr. Bond, who I believe was well acquainted with this circumstance, nevertheless ordered the people of the house where it was said I had lodged, and where the goods had been sent, to attend; they did so, together with a hair-dresser; and all of them declared that I did not in any respect resemble the *gentleman* who had done the business. The latter retired with disgrace. As I was pretty warm with him, a fellow who had come for the purpose of exhibiting a charge against me, very boldly exclaimed, "Don't be so impudent, Sir, "you know you robbed me the same day!" but no sooner did it appear, that it was impossible I could have robbed either of them, than he also, hiding his head, sneaked off.

Such transactions ought to make magistrates very cautious how they receive informations from persons pretending to be injured; the possibility of mistakes is very great, and too many from an obstinate and foolish pride, will sooner deprive their fellow-creature of life than acknowledge an error. I say nothing of the vindictive, and cruel, nor of those whose trade is blood, and who for a little money, are but too ready to swear what (though it may be very true,) they do not know to be so; I speak of the good, and them I wish to remember, that a momentary view can
give

give but a very imperfect idea of a face, hardly indeed so much but that a change of dress will efface it. In my own case, I am convinced that nothing less than my being able to prove myself on the Continent, saved me from being convicted by the hatter; for such was the power of prejudice against me, and so positively, and so repeatedly did he swear, that a jury must have been composed of no ordinary men to have resisted.

A thousand ridiculous charges of swindling transactions were now brought forward; among the most laughable were the following:

Mr. *Strongitbarm*, of *Pall-mall*, seal engraver, being very short, had got himself perched over the heads of the rest of the assembly, like a crest over a coat of arms, and complained that I had defrauded him. Mr. Bond requested to know in what manner; he said I had ordered him to engrave a seal, after a drawing which I had given him, but had never called for it, adding that it was not quite finished; Mr. Bond advised him to go home and finish it, for that the Major would probably call for it. A Mr. Warburton, a woollen-draper, in the Strand, likewise brought a charge against me; this heavy accusation however appeared to be, by his own account, that I had asked him to give me credit, which he had refused; but even that was more than

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truth,

truth, for I solemnly swear I never before saw the man, nor ever was in his house.

But the summit of ridicule was climbed by Mr. Clay, of Birmingham, who bawled out aloud that I had cheated him. Mr. Bond immediately asked how I had done it. Mr. Clay said he held a note of hand of mine, for, I think, ten pounds. Mr. Bond enquired where it was? At Birmingham was the reply. "What is its date?" "About ten years." A loud laugh immediately shook the whole audience, and Mr. Clay was told that that office was not the place to recover debts; besides that the statute of limitations stood as an insuperable barrier in his way. This was the more malicious on the part of Clay, owing to another laughable circumstance. About the time he spoke to, I did really borrow the money of him, for which I gave him a note payable at the house of a very respectable gentlemen, but whose singularity of name, gave rise to suspicions in Mr. Clay's sapient brain. That night, or the night following, there appeared in the newspapers, one of those paragraphs that are calculated to set the world a staring, stating that a fraud on the Bank to a very large amount had been committed, and giving a description of a person, which nearly agreed with my own. Clay read this, and forthwith went to consult with a justice of the

the peace in the neighbourhood, by whose advice and assistance I was taken into custody at Shrewsbury, where they detained me till they sent an express to town. Sir Sampson Wright, who was then alive, on receipt of the letter of these *wise men*, returned for answer, that "NO SUCH CRIME HAD BEEN COMMITTED, and that "the best thing they could do was to make the "matter up with me." On account of the civilities I had received from every respectable inhabitant of Shrewsbury, I was induced to drop all ideas of prosecuting Clay and the Justice, and contented myself with making them pay all expences there and my horses back to town. I further told Clay he might burn my bill, for I should never pay it; nor did I hear of it from that day, until he made as related his foolish harangue in Bow-street.

Nothing of course could be made of such frivolous complaints, and the linen-draper, who it seems belongs to that *most creditable society*, instituted for the prosecution of *swindlers*, (a term unknown in the law of England,) had applied to the attorney of that body; who, on the seventh or eighth time that I went up to the police office, sent his clerk with a letter to the magistrate. This letter was read and stated, that after the maturest deliberation, he could not make any thing but a debt of the transaction;

and therefore he should not proceed further, nor would the linen-draper appear again at the office.

I now thought myself on the eve of liberty, when that *active magistrate*, Mr. Flood, who had no concern at all in the business, being merely a spectator, insisted that I should be fully committed; he maintained that if my former conviction was just, (a point on which even yet lawyers are by no means unanimous,) then the present case must be felony; he further directed that the linen-draper should draw up his case, and lay it before Mr. Sylvester, for his opinion; in the mean while I was remanded for another hearing. The next day Mr. Bond sat at the office; I was brought up, and Mr. Sylvester's opinion upon the new statement, which the linen-draper had made out to lay before him, was, that the transaction was felonious, of course I was fully committed for trial.

My trial is yet recent in the memory of all the world; how my obtaining the shirt as related, and as it appeared in evidence, could be a theft, I leave to that world to judge; but so it was called, and the jury by their *second* verdict found me GUILTY.

As every one who knew my case, thought it (to say no worse of it), extremely hard, I with the more confidence applied to my friends, who
in

in their turn left nothing undone to serve me. Among other distinguished characters, the late celebrated Mr. Burke took amazing pains to do away or mitigate my sentence. At first indeed, before he knew my real conduct, he was not totally free from that universal prejudice which had taken place in the minds of almost all the world; but his sentiments will be much better known from his own words, than from any description of mine. In short, Mr. Burke writing coolly and dispassionately on any subject, must be read with pleasure by all mankind, and I therefore cannot conceal this letter, though not favourable to myself, from my readers.

(COPY.)

From the Right Honourable EDM BURKE,

To J. E. DEVEREUX, Esq.

35, St. James's-Place, LONDON.

" OCTOBER the 19th, 1795.

" DEAR SIR,

" I do full justice to the principles of humanity, which induce you to take an interest in the fate of Mr. Semple. There are circumstances of compassion in his history, that would induce one to wish that the severity of the law was not to take place, with regard

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" to

“ to that unfortunate gentleman. Had the judgment been capital, I should take a warm part for its mitigation. But I have very different sentiments with regard to transportation. A person without fortune or profession, and who has the misfortune, by the sentence of a court of justice, to lose his reputation, cannot possibly live but by a repetition of the same, or similar practices to those, which have first brought him into his difficulties. I venture to say that it is nothing at all short of a moral impossibility he should. Now, I submit it to your very good sense, whether, in such a case, the very worst sort of punishment, and that which admits no hope on this side of the grave, does not become an event very much to be apprehended; and whether you or I would like hereafter, to consider ourselves by an ill understood lenity, to be the means of his losing his life with aggravated disgrace to himself and to his family? For my own part I look upon transportation, to be, without question, an unpleasant remedy; but still a remedy in a desperate disease. He goes to a place where he is not oppressed by the judgment he has suffered; and where none but honest ways of life are open to him. The climate is good, the soil is not unfavourable. There is even some choice in the society. God knows that they who have
“ suffered,

“ suffered, and even deservedly suffered, by the
“ sentence of the law, are very far from the
“ worst or most disagreeable men in the world.
“ I assure you that if I were to fall into a mis-
“ fortune of this sort, and to have youth and
“ vigour of body and mind; I should think
“ this change of place to be a thing to be de-
“ sired, not shunned. If I were a friend of Mr.
“ Semple, I would of course advise him, after
“ humbling himself before God, to look reso-
“ lutely on all, in this kind, that man can do to
“ him. He is a military man. Let him encoun-
“ ter his ill-fortune bravely, and resolve to ob-
“ tain by his fortitude and future integrity, the
“ esteem of all thinking and worthy minds. He
“ has no loss at all in losing a country where
“ he has lost his place in society; and as to
“ transportation to any other country in Europe
“ or America, the English newspapers, among
“ the infinite evils they produce, spread such
“ things as those that relate to him into every
“ quarter, and never suffer a man to recover
“ his reputation. If I cannot give my assist-
“ ance to this poor gentleman’s release, it is
“ upon motives of good will to him to the best
“ of my weak judgment; but if his powerful
“ relations, or others who are his friends, and
“ disposed to compassion towards him, will con-
“ tribute to the alleviation of his circumstan-
“ ces,

“ being noxious, he might be usefully and honourably employed.

“ You are yourself a lawyer; you well remember your friend, my late brother; you know that no man had a clearer head, or a more upright heart. He had, as Recorder of Bristol, a good deal of experience in the criminal law; and I verily believe a better criminal judge never did exist. I have often heard him expatiate with no small indignation against the confusion which began to prevail in the criminal jurisprudence, by which the distinctive lines of offences were effaced, or at least rendered mischievously uncertain. The confusion of fraud with felony (a new practice) he held to be highly pernicious; and for one I look upon it with horror. By this means men are entrapped by the law itself. The law ought as religiously to prevent one crime being punished as another, as it ought to save innocence from being punished at all. The law itself getting into this crookedness becomes the swindler, and gets the blood of men under false pretences, much worse is it than under false pretences obtaining their money.

“ On this head, I will say no more just now than this, that when the law (if it be law or can be law) is so very vicious; the mitigating power of the Crown, cannot be so well employed as in preventing its having its worst effects.

“ I once

" I once more most humbly and earnestly re-
 " quest that this matter may be left open to the
 " maturest consideration. I shall be much obli-
 " gged to you for your good offices on the oc-
 " casion; and am always, with most sincere re-
 " spect and affection,

" My dear KING,

" Your most faithful,

" And obedient humble Servant,

BEACONSFIELD,
 October 26th 1795.

" EDMUND BURKE."

" *You will be pleased to return his papers to the un-
 " fortunate Mr. Semple after you have made use
 " of them; there are eight pieces.*"

Among the number of those respectable per-
 sons, who applied in my behalf to those in
 power, I cannot but mention James Boswell, Esq.
 the intimate friend of the great Dr. Johnston.
 He presented a petition from me, and not re-
 ceiving any answer, he called at the Secretary
 of State's Office, where he left a letter, of which
 he inclosed me a copy, in these words :

" *To JOHN KING, Esq. Under Secretary of State.*

" SIR,

" I LEFT at your house on Sun-
 " day night a Petition from Major Semple
 " Lisle,

" Lifle, to the Duke of Portland, which you
 " had been fo good as to fay you would deliver;
 " and I wrote on Monday to his Grace respect-
 " ing a fhort audience, as from my having feen
 " the unhappy man's papers while he was left
 " upon the Continent. I could enforce his ap-
 " plication for the royal mercy, which he folicits,
 " on condition of his transporting himfelf for
 " ever, inftead of being transported for feven
 " years; by which commutation the public
 " would be a gainer.

" Having as yet heard nothing on the fubject
 " from his Grace or yourfelf, Sir, may I beg to
 " be favoured with a line, to inform me whether
 " hopes of fuccefs may be entertained; and that
 " you will be pleafed to contribute your humane
 " influence.

" I am, Sir,

" Your moft obedient

" Humble fervant."

Secretary of State's Office,

FRIDAY, April 10th 1795.

Thefe letters I have inferted, not becaufe
 Mr. Burke and Mr. Bofwell were the only gen-
 tlemen of diftinction, who interefted themfelves
 for me; but becaufe they are characters of fuch
 celebrity and genius, that had my crimes been
 fuch

such as the world has been taught to believe, they must have seen them and despised me. Their friendship is my greatest honour, next to that of the distinguished Generals, under whom I served on the Continent; and I am happy to say, that I have not yet found one enemy among those whose friendship was worth the acceptance.

C H A P. XVI.

The author remains two years a prisoner in Newgate.

—Begins to entertain hopes that he will not be sent away.—The sheriffs attempt to send him away in an abrupt manner.—His despair and its consequences.—Reflections on this action, and the conduct of the sheriffs.—Sent down to Portsmouth.—Receives the kindest treatment from Mr. Dyne, contractor for transports.—Embarks on board the Lady Shore.—Finds the ship in a state of mutiny.—Different instances of the mutinous behaviour of the soldiers of the New S. Wales corps.—Punishment of their officers.

I HAD remained a prisoner, in Newgate, on what is called the state side, where I enjoyed an apartment

apartment to myself, upwards of two years; during which time, many of the most distinguished characters had, as I have already stated, done every thing they could to soften the rigour of my sentence. Though I had received many assurances, that there was no intention of sending me from that jail, still, whenever I heard of the sheriffs having obtained an order for the removal of prisoners to the hulks, I naturally felt myself uneasy, and renewed my applications; the answers I received were of the same tenor, till my fears gradually subsided, and I concluded, that should his Majesty's ministers in the end determine to send me abroad, they would at least suffer me to remain where I was, until the ship in which it was meant I should embark, should be ready for sea; and that after having been so long detained, some short notice of my departure would be given me. How much reason I had for my opinion, may be seen by the following extract of a note from Mr. Kirby, keeper of Newgate, a gentleman to whose humanity I have the highest obligations :

" MAJOR SEMPLE LISLE,"

" * * * * * Can you suppose
 " any event hostile to your feelings should take
 " place, after what I have said to you, and I not
 " inform you? no, be assured you are secure—I
 " need

"need say no more, you will rest satisfied till I
"see you.

J. K."

Early in the month of December, the sheriffs had obtained an order, such as is ordinarily given twice or thrice a year, for the removal of convicts, in which it would appear, they were determined to include me, though they kept their intentions a secret. One evening as I was sitting in my room, one of the turn-keys came and told me that a gentleman who did not wish to come in, desired to speak to me in the lodge. As this had more than once been the case, I went without delay, in my slippers, and without a hat; but immediately found myself surrounded by the officers of the place, who, shewing me a coach then at the door, told me I was going immediately into the *country*. I however found the way back to my room; Mr. Kirby, junior, and two of the turn-keys, who had ever behaved to me with the greatest kindness, followed me. I was now driven to distraction, but though enraged to the highest pitch of madness, I could not raise my hand against those from whom I had experienced nothing but friendship. I was besides unarmed; but in my frenzy, I snatched up a round pointed breakfast knife, with which I made a blow at my breast. I struck too high,

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and

and the knife would not enter; but I repeated the stroke lower down, and plunged it to the handle in my body. Those about me were shocked and astonished, and seemed incapable of thought or action, till Mr. Kirby drew the knife from my breast, and I desired them to help me off with my coat, which being done, I calmly laid down.

I by no means intend to justify the violent act I committed, but I was driven to despair, by the unaccountable conduct of the sheriffs. It seems they have the privilege of *selecting* the persons, who are to compose the number ordered by the Secretary of State to be sent off; and for reasons which are yet unknown to me, they had resolved not only to send me away, but to take me unware in the singular manner I have already described. To take me unawares, was the only method in their power to distress me; and of this they determined to profit, well knowing that from my extensive correspondence with the most distinguished persons at home, and on the Continent, I must, if taken by surprise, leave many papers which I highly esteemed at their mercy. I must besides be unprovided with so much as a change of linen, till their *great humanity* might be pleased to order me some of my own little stock. But above all, they well knew that I must leave those who are
dearer

dearer to me than life; and that to be thus torn from them, without even an Adieu! was the severest blow they could inflict.

The pretext, and it is a *mere pretext*, for these sudden removals, is, that the convicts are riotous and disorderly when about to be sent off; this is true in the crowded part of the prison, where the poor wretches are, *without a moment's warning, awaked out of their sleep in the dead of night, and hurried off*. They then are apt to break the few trifling utensils they have got, and to make much noise; but when they have had previous notice, I have seen them go away peaceably and quietly, without making any disturbance. But this did not even furnish a reason in my case, as I was neither in a crowded part of the prison, nor had any communication whatever with those under such sentences as myself. Besides, the sheriffs ought to have considered, that though I was all submission to the sentence of the law, I was not to be intimidated, and that it was possible to drive even men of the mildest temper to acts of madness by unnecessary severity. Of this they would have been satisfied, had they been present when their mandate was announced to me.

I should by no means have felt the least resentment against the sheriffs, for having in my turn sent me away, but that turn had passed for

twelve months and more; and it may be seen from Mr. Kirby's note, that I had no reason to think that I should be hurried off without timely notice. I had even much higher authority, which I am not at liberty to give up, for believing that it was not the intent of government that I should go at all; indeed his Majesty's Ministers seemed inclined to take into consideration the blood I had spilt for my country, and make some allowance on that account. This their liberal conduct towards me, determined mine in the hour of danger, when the mutineers seized the ship, and when my resistance was firm, but rendered ineffectual by the *inaction* of the officers of the troops. Whether however circumstances might afterwards have induced them to send me away, I cannot with absolute certainty determine; but I am confident they would have sent me immediately to the ship, and they would have given me sufficient notice, to make the necessary preparations for so long a voyage, and this was all I had desired! But the *benevolent* *Sheriffs*, —————

————— would have supposed themselves degraded by a generous or humane act; and, I dare say, would have thought it *rare fun* to send a gentleman to the hulks.

I remained without any further interruption, till, I think, about the end of February, when,
after

after a notice given me of some days, I was removed to Portsmouth, after having received marks of the most humane attention from some of the first persons in the kingdom. On my arrival, I experienced the utmost exertions of humanity from that most worthy character, Mr. Dyne, the contractor for transports, to whose care I was consigned; that gentleman, far from wishing to add to my sufferings, did every thing he could to alleviate them. Instead of being sent on board a hulk, I was put on board, what is called, the hospital ship, where I had a cabin to myself, and every accommodation I could wish; and here I remained till the *Lady Shore* came round from the river.

When I went on board the *Lady Shore*, I found some persons, whom by their dress, I should have supposed to be soldiers; but their disorderly and mutinous behaviour soon convinced me, that whatever they might be called, they were in fact most daring mutineers. I had not indeed been many hours on board, when a scene presented itself, which ought to have warned any officer of his danger. Though the British fleet laying close to us, was then in a state of open rebellion, the whole of the officers of the New South Wales corps went on shore, and left the charge of the detachment, I think, 74 in number, to a Serjeant of the name of

Hughes ; in their absence, Hughes thought proper to go on shore too, and when the officers returned, was not come on board. When they came, which they did all together, the Commander enquired for him, and before an answer was well given, he appeared along side in a boat. The commanding officer in person, ordered him on board, to which he replied, *he would not come till he had seen his goods out of the boat.* The officer repeated his commands, and Hughes replied in a language which I will not repeat ; strange to tell, the officer calmly walked into his cabin, without taking the least notice of the insult.

The same day, if I recollect well, Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick came on board, and to him I related the story, as I was even then convinced that the ship must fall a victim to mutiny ; it was not however in Sir Jerome's province, who having introduced and recommended me to the officers, took leave.

The mutiny then raging on board his Majesty's ships, by which we were surrounded, was, I suppose, the reason why we were ordered to sail in an unusual hurry, and with the *West*, instead of the *East India* convoy. Of the mutinous state of the ship, let the concurrence of Mr. Black, our purser, bear testimony with me ; that gentleman, in a letter to his father, dated

dated May 1st, 1797, and which has since been published, says,

“ I sincerely wish (as do all the ship’s company,) that we were now laying at Port-Jackson, delivering our *precious cargo*, instead of Torbay; for the soldiers are the most disagreeable, mutinous set of villains that ever entered into a ship.—Two of the serjeants behaved so ill, that Captain Willcocks was obliged to insist upon their commanding officer confining them in irons; for they have their own officers on board, and the Captain and officers of the ship have no power over them. Major Semple is a quiet kind of a man, and I have no doubt will behave like a gentleman and give us no trouble.—He was some days since applied to by two of the villains, to know if he would head them in an attempt to seize the ship after they should get well out to sea, and had left the convoy; one of them at the same time telling him, this was the eighth time he had embarked for Botany Bay without reaching it; and he was determined he would not this time; and that he was sent on board by force from a Police Office. This was immediately reported to the officers of the ship by Semple; in consequence of which the soldiers vow vengeance against him,

N 4

“ threatening

"threatening to throw him over board the first opportunity."

In consequence of these riotous proceedings, an order was given that none of the soldiers, but those on duty, should come on the quarter-deck. The day following, Hughes, the Serjeant, attempted to violate this order, which the sentry would not permit, and told him the reason why he could not; with which indeed the Serjeant must necessarily have been acquainted. He then requested to pass the deck, to go down to the commanding officer's cabin, to have the order repealed; not being able to obtain this repeal, he came up again, threatening and shaking his hand in the first mate's face, who then, in the absence of the Captain, commanded the ship. Continuing his insolence, the mate went into his cabin and put on a dirk; when Hughes saw this, he went below, saying, that he had a longer sword, and was coming again upon deck with it drawn, and had I not guarded the hatchway, he certainly meant to have attacked and murdered the Chief Mate. This as well as the former acts of mutiny passed unnoticed by the officers of the detachment.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Mutinous proceedings at Portsmouth.—The Chief Mate makes a complaint to General Pitt.—Sail for Torbay.—The mutineers disturb the Captain in mustering his men.—Captain Wilcocks complains to General Fox, who transmits his letter to the Duke of Portland.—Lieutenant Colonel Grose, the Commander of the New South Wales corps, sent to inspect them.—The ships receive damage from a storm, and are obliged to go into harbour.—The Lady Shore sails after the Captain had addressed the Minister on the situation of the troops, to which the author also added his testimony.—The troops increase in mutiny and disobedience.

THE short time we remained at Portsmouth was sufficient to demonstrate, that the officers entrusted with the charge of the New South Wales Corps, were inadequate to their duty. I intimated as much before we weighed anchor to several persons of respectability; and the Chief Mate of the ship (who commanded in the place of Captain Wilcocks, then absent,) complained to General Pitt, in consequence of the attack by Serjeant Hughes, which I mentioned
in

in the last chapter. This complaint was rendered ineffectual, by our being ordered to sail in about 12 hours after it was lodged ; so that the General had not time to punish the mutineer, or enquire into the merits of the case.

We had not many hours left Portsmouth, till our convoy made a signal for the fleet to disperse, and to rendezvous at Torbay, according to our orders. While we were steering for that port, Captain Wilcocks suspecting that the reason of the signal being made might be the approach of some enemies ships, and his men not having been appointed to their quarters, he ordered them to be mustered. He was in the act of telling them off, when a number of soldiers surrounded him, and drowned his voice by their noise ; he desired them to go forward, and not disturb him in the execution of his duty on the quarter-deck ; but they replied *that they would stay where they were*. He then made application to Ensign Minchin, who prevailed upon the soldiers to desist, and suffer the Captain to continue his business for the moment in peace ; no other punishment however was inflicted, though we were soon in harbour, than laying one man under arrest for the evening.

How far such conduct was likely to stifle mutiny I shall not say ; but when I remark that the soldiers on board were a mixture of foreigners

reigners and criminals, enlisted from jails, and induced to enter for fear of worse consequences, the due recompense of their crimes, I think my readers will agree with me, that the reins of discipline ought to have been held with a strong hand.

A continuation of mutinous behaviour, every day more daring and aggravated, obliged Captain Wilcocks to address Major General Fox, who had sent the detachment on board.

As the orders which the General had sent on board, were excellently well calculated for the safety of the ship, and the regulation of the troops; these flagrant acts of mutiny induced him to acquaint the Duke of Portland with Captain Wilcocks's letter; a written declaration, alluded to in Mr. Black's letter already quoted, which I had made, was also transmitted to his Grace; and which affords an honourable testimonial, that however my character might otherwise have suffered, as a soldier it still remained unspotted.

The Duke immediately ordered Lieutenant Colonel Grose, the Commander of the New South Wales Corps, to Torbay, to examine into the nature and accuracy of the complaint.

It is not perhaps improper for the information of such of my readers as are unacquainted with military affairs, to observe, that it is a standing order on board transports, that no lights are to be suffered, no tobacco to be
smoked,

smoked, nor cartridges to be allowed to remain between decks ; all which were grossly violated by the soldiers, who, as must already be evident, had no respect for their officers, nor knew any controul of discipline.

When the Lieut. Col. came on board he asked a few questions of the officers of the ship, but examined more fully some of the soldiers who were accused of the disorders complained of, and seemed to give credit to their assertions.

The Captain expecting that the signal for sailing would be made soon, and apprehending that he might not have time to procure redress from another quarter, requested that the Lieutenant-Colonel would take from the soldiers, the ball cartridges which Mr. Minchin had left in their possession, as he entertained apprehensions for the safety of the ship ; not only from the disposition of the soldiers, but from fire that might be occasioned by their negligence and disorder. This most reasonable request was refused by the Lieutenant-Colonel. The judicious and soldier-like orders of that most excellent officer, Major General Fox, which he had sent on board with the detachment, were then called to his recollection ; his answer was nearly to this purpose, that the men were then under his (Lieutenant-Colonel Grose's) command, that General Fox had no orders to give them. He then returned to his boat, and as he crossed the deck, told

told the Captain that he would return next morning; but we saw him no more. The following afternoon, Captain Wilcocks was informed by the keeper of the inn, at Brixham, "that as soon as the Lieutenant-Colonel landed from his visit to the ship, he took some refreshment and set off for London."

Just at this time a very severe gale commenced, which did much harm to the fleet in general, dismasted the frigate, under whose convoy we sailed, and did us some, though not material damage; several ships belonging to Admiral Sir R. Curtis's Squadron, then laying near us, likewise lost their masts, and received other injuries. The tempest having somewhat abated, after raging two days, if I recollect right, the frigate was obliged to put into Plymouth to refit, and we with others of the convoy went round to Falmouth, escorted by his Majesty's ship Scourge, to repair our damages.

The situation of Captain Wilcocks became now truly distressing, as he was on every side surrounded by embarrassments, and uncertain how many days, or even hours he might have to remain in England. In hopes that the soldiers would at length behave with more decency and order, he wished to avoid further complaints; and as the Lieutenant-Colonel seemed to have forgotten him and his ship, he likewise forgot the Lieutenant-Colonel. But their mutinous disposition,

disposition, which could not rest even for a day, plunged us again into confusion.

The soldiers, emboldened by impunity, insulted equally their own officers, and those of the ship, till one day, a Corporal daring to strike the Chief Mate, in the execution of his duty, the Captain found himself impelled to address the Minister, and to furnish him with a detail of the conduct of the troops, and his apprehensions for the safety of the ship. About the same time, my own affairs rendering it necessary for me to address the Duke of Portland ; I took advantage of the opportunity, to give my opinion of our situation. A few days however put an end to our hopes, the signal for sailing was suddenly made, and we went to sea, before any answer could be received to the Captain's complaints.

During our passage, the same disorder which we had so sensibly felt in the harbour, prevailed and even encreased ; the same Corporal, who struck the Chief Mate with impunity, struck and kicked his officer (Ensign Prater,) at sea ; who, instead of punishing him with instant death, tamely submitted to the insult.

It is with heart-felt pride, I write the hatred entertained towards me, both by the soldiers and their officers. The former, thought to have found in me a desperate advocate for mutiny, ready as themselves to any act of villany or murder;

der; whereas they found a determined enemy to every thing that tended to the want of discipline, and subordination; while the latter were secretly enraged, that I should have dared to write as I had done on their subject to his Majesty's Minister, and to their Lieutenant-Colonel, who furnished them with copies of what I had wrote; and one of which letters, wherein I describe the intention of the soldiers, and named those whom I suspected to be the ringleaders; Ensign Minchin read to the men on the quarter-deck, while we were at sea. The soldiers, however, though they struck their own officers and those of the ship, only *threatened* me, nor did they ever venture to approach me, with the intention of putting their threats in execution.

The Captain's friendship for me merited the most grateful return; whenever there was any disturbance I ranged myself by his side, a conduct which gave no small offence to the mutineers; nor at last, had not those whose duty should have induced them to act far otherwise, hid themselves in holes and corners, instead of offering a manly resistance, the mutiny would have ended in the death of the insurgents.

During the time we were at sea and under convoy, though rebellion appeared every day and every hour, no attempt was made at seizing the ship; the mutineers well knew that a signal would

would bring the escort to act against them; and they equally knew that they had arms and ammunition adequate to their purpose, whenever they should think proper to make the attack; resistance they could expect but little of, since they had so many proofs of the tameness of their officers; they therefore suffered us to proceed without interruption on our course. Nevertheless, every day was marked by outrages, that loudly demanded the interference of authority, not only to quiet, but to disarm the New South Wales banditti, and inflict a signal and exemplary punishment on their infamous ringleaders.

In this state of continual apprehension, amidst the terrors of a mutiny we daily expected to break out, and which we were only too conscious, (from the causes already given,) we should not be able to resist, we proceeded on our voyage, proposing to touch at *Rio de Janeiro*; and the convoy having left us in the proper latitude to proceed to their destination in the West India Islands, we were left to our fate.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Lady Shore proceeds in safety almost to Rio de Janeiro.—The mutiny commences. Ensign Minchin

chin refuses to act.—The Captain mortally wounded.—The author endeavours to persuade the officers of the troops to rally, but in vain.—He offers a variety of practicable plans, but without effect.—At the instance of the Captain and Minchin, the author enters into a treaty with the mutineers.—Minchin makes his submission, and the ship is given up.—The officers who hid themselves, brought to light.—The Captain's death.—The author wishes to leave the mess, but at the solicitation of the officers, continues with them.—The officers endeavour to procure a boat from the mutineers to carry them to Rio Grande.—The author's stratagem to procure leave for himself and the Purser to go in the boat.

WE proceeded on our voyage without any event worth remarking, till we were very near *Rio de Janeiro*, in the Brazils. On the 1st of August 1797, about four o'clock in the morning, I was awaked by the report of fire-arms and the screams of women. I immediately hastened from my bed toward the hatchway, which I found strongly guarded, and near it I met John Curran, a sailor, who had just escaped from the scene of bloodshed, then passing upon deck; he told me that the soldiers had taken the ship, and that if I went near the hatchway, I should be murdered by the mutineers.

O

Captain

Captain Wilcocks occupied the round-house, the Chief Mate, Second Mate, and Purser, were in three small cabins in the fore-part of it; in cabins between decks abaft, and in the steerage were the officers of the troops, Lieutenant Drummond, of the Bombay Marines, (doing duty as mate,) the petty officers of the ship, the seamen, a passenger with his family, and myself.

It was the Chief Mate's watch upon deck; him I had already heard calling aloud that he was murdered, and fell groaning at the feet of the assassins; the Captain, whom the noise had alarmed, and who had run upon deck, was immediately mortally wounded, and in that state threw himself down the hatchway, but retained strength enough to drag himself into Ensign Minchin's cabin, and into his bed, which as he afterwards told me he found empty, the Ensign with his lady having already crept underneath it.

At the moment, when the Captain fell down the hatchway, in front of the ladder, I was behind it, at the cabin of Lieutenant Drummond, the Surgeon and the Steward, endeavouring to excite them to action, that we might not only defend ourselves, but raise force enough to retain possession of the ship. I found the Steward's cabin empty, he having abandoned it; I then
went

went to Lieutenant Drummond's door, which communicated with the Surgeon's cabin, and which was shut. After knocking and calling repeatedly on both these gentlemen, without obtaining any answer, the door was at length opened. The Steward, who had gone there to conceal himself, was the first man I saw; Lieutenant Drummond was, I blush to say it, *under the bed of the Surgeon*, and positively refused taking any active part; the Surgeon, a very good and very young man, said but little, but I am confident, that had those whose duty it was, made preparations for resistance, he would not have been backward.

Just then I heard the Captain calling me to come to his assistance; I went round to him immediately, and found him laying in Minchin's bed, into which he had thrown himself. The bed stood uncommonly high, being more than three feet from the deck, and under it I discovered, by the day-light which begun to appear, ENSIGN MINCHIN, the COMMANDING OFFICER, with his wife. In some such situation, indeed, the knowledge I had of the man, and the clamorous outcry of "GIVE THEM THE SHIP! GIVE THEM THE SHIP!" which he had repeatedly vociferated at the very beginning of the conflict, taught me to look for him.

The Captain desired me to place him in an

easy posture, and then asked my opinion of our situation. I frankly told him, that although the preservation of the ship was no way difficult, yet I had no hope of it, as I found no disposition in those who had the power, to make any attempt; nevertheless, if any active measures should be determined upon, I was ready to lead the way to the deck. The Captain, the agony of whose wounds was increased by seeing that he had nothing to hope for, feeling the approach of death, was disposed rather to expire in peace, than singly, and unable to stand, to oppose the fury of the mutineers; Mr. Minchin likewise, who had now sallied from his retreat, joined the Captain in conjuring me to go to the hatchway, to assure the mutineers that no resistance would be made, and to entreat that, as they had no opposition to expect, no more mischief might be done. To the Captain I answered, that whatever might, in his own opinion, tend to his advantage or convenience, I should most readily do, but to Ensign Minchin, I felt myself, as a soldier, obliged to speak in another tone. Him I told, that HE, and HE ONLY, was the proper person to speak to the mutineers; that they were committed to HIS charge, and that it was HIS duty TO SUBDUCE THEM OR DIE! I called to his recollection, that he had more than force sufficient to insure success; that all the ammunition of every kind,

kind, except a few musket-cartridges, were in our possession, and that nothing was wanting, but for him to draw his sword and exert himself; but that if he thought attacking them on deck would be attended with more danger than he deemed *prudent* to encounter, we had still another and a safer resource; that, as well as the ammunition, we were masters of the provisions; that we had only to defend the hatchways, and keep the mutineers where they were; and that, having neither bread nor water in their reach, want of refreshment and rest would soon reduce them to sue for mercy on their knees: I even proposed to him to choak the rudder, and cut away the masts between decks, in which case the wreck would have fallen on their heads, and they had not one implement of any kind to clear it with; but such measures he did not chuse to adopt, and repeated his desire of giving up the ship; the Captain likewise again solicited me to communicate his and Ensign Minchin's propositions to the mutineers, as the probable means of preventing more murders.

I went therefore to the hatchway, where the centinels presented their pieces to my head; but three Frenchmen, a German, and several Irish at that moment appearing, I communicated my business. They remained upon deck, and myself below; and while we were in that

situation, they assured me that they wished not to hurt any one; but that they wanted their liberty, and would have it or die: they added, that if the Captain and Mr. Minchin would come to the hatchway, and give their word of honour that no resistance should at any time be made, all should be at peace, and we should be well treated. I represented to them the Captain's perilous situation, and that it was impossible for him to be brought to the hatchway, without encreasing the pain and danger in which he already was: they then replied that they would be satisfied with receiving the declaration of submission from Minchin, and that they would make me answerable for the Captain's future conduct.

Minchin went to the hatchway, made the promises demanded, and delivered up his arms. This point being settled, those who had hitherto concealed themselves began to appear. Anxious to know the fate of the gentlemen who lodged in the round-house, and of the sailors of the watch on deck, I enquired of the mutineers whether many had fallen? They answered me, "But few." I then requested to know if Mr. Murchison, the Second Mate, Mr. Black, the Purser, (whose pistols I saw in the hands of a mutineer,) and Ensign Prater, were alive? They told me that Murchison was in the cabin, shut

shut up under a guard, and that he should remain unhurt, provided he was quiet; that they supposed Mr. Black to have been killed and thrown over-board, as he was no where to be seen; that his pistols were found loaded at the head of his bed, and that there was much blood in his cabin; but as to Prater they knew nothing about him. The Chief Mate we already knew to be dead; so, that in addition to this, and the almost hopeless state of the Captain, we apprehended we had to lament the death of the other two gentlemen. However, about nine in the morning, *five hours after the affray was over*, Ensign Prater was found concealed among the women convicts, and about an hour after, much to our surprise and satisfaction, Mr. Black, the Purser, was handed down to us.

It now appeared that when the Chief Mate received his first wound, he fled into the cabin of Mr. Black, and threw himself upon that gentleman in his bed, the mutineers following, and firing upon him till he received, I think, eight wounds. Mr. Black, who is a very young man, at that time not above nineteen, and, as might be expected, totally unused to scenes of blood and horror, found himself awoke from his sleep by the noise of fire-arms, and the yells of the assassins, by whom he was surrounded; from the nearness of the discharge, his cabin

must have seemed filled with fire, and the weight of his dying friend must have effectually prevented him from using his arms. Thus embarrassed, surprised, and on all sides surrounded by armed ruffians, none could have sustained such an assault but the man who, long accustomed to the shock of war, has learnt to despise death, and who, on all occasions, even when the thunder of God bursts round his head, claps his hand to his sword, and stands undaunted. Who then can be astonished that a youth, who neither wearing a sword, nor bearing a commission, consequently had contracted no obligation to fight or die, should conceal himself? For him, therefore, no apology is necessary; for the officers of the New South Wales Corps and Lieutenant Drummond it may be, perhaps, difficult to find one. Out of the reach of the mutineers, furnished with every necessary, incapable of being attacked, except by the hatchways, which we could easily have blocked, and sufficiently numerous to have acted upon the offensive, it is their province, not mine, to account for their *extraordinary* conduct.

Mr. Murchison had already obtained leave to join us; and in fact, he and myself were the only two on board whom the mutineers treated with consideration; him they knew to possess courage; that he was powerful, and would defend

send himself with vigour ; and my uniform conduct towards them, from the hour I first embarked, told them what they had to expect from me.

The former differences which had subsisted between the military officers and me seemed now buried in oblivion, being as it were absorbed in our common misfortune ; my time, however, was taken up in attending the Captain, who was very desirous I should not leave him ; and who, after languishing about forty-eight hours, expired in my arms. As soon as his body was committed to the deep, not wishing to associate with Minchin, for reasons that may be collected from the foregoing narrative, I left that cabin and returned to my own ; but the same day, at the hour of dinner, I was sent for, and solicited by all, but particularly by Ensigns Minchin and Prater, not to leave them ; I complied with their request, and we were no more separated.

Some hours before our unfortunate Captain was buried, the mutineers did the same to one of their comrades, named Delahay, who was killed in the conflict, not, as was first supposed, by Mr. Lambert, the Chief Mate, but by an accidental shot from one of their own party ; on this man's body they affixed the following inscription, "*Il est mort pour la liberté.*"

Previous

Previous to the Captain's death he desired me to cut off some of his hair, to send to his wife; a task which I carefully performed.

The direction of the ship was now in the hands of a few foreigners, and the knowledge I had of their different languages often obliged them to have recourse to me as their interpreter: these services enabled me to obtain from them some indulgence for my friends and myself, by way of recompense. From the moment we were taken we never ceased to solicit the mutineers to give us a boat, that we might land at *Rio de Janeiro*; but this they refused, from an apprehension that some Portuguese ships of war might by laying there. As they had declared their intention of making for the *Rio de Plata*, and landing at some of the Spanish settlements in that river, they thought, that if we reached our port soon, we might procure a Portuguese ship of war to be sent after them, which might reach the mouth of the *Rio de Plata* before the *Lady Shore*, and thus intercept them. On this account they positively refused us a boat, till we should be so far to the southward as to enable them to reach the *Rio de Plata* before we should be able, in all probability, to reach the *Rio Grande*, the southernmost settlement of the Brazils.

Every individual who formed our table solicited

licited leave to embark in the boat, and all obtained a promise, except Mr. Fyfe, the Surgeon, and myself; and though the most active in the mutiny were against my leaving the ship, as being useful to them, the majority of voices were in my favour: they also entertained an idea of detaining the Purser, to furnish them with an account of the quality and value of the cargo.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, I still flattered myself with expectations of vanquishing the opposition that obstructed my desires. An opportunity soon offered, which I seized, and found the means of turning to the advantage of the Purser and myself; and this we owed to a report which had reached the ears of the mutineers, that a chest of money or plate, and a box of watches were somewhere in the ship.

The three Frenchmen, who then governed the Lady Shore, were desirous that these should be made their own exclusive property; they spoke to me on the subject, making me very large promises if I would obtain them such information as might enable them to come at it without the knowledge of their companions. I communicated this business to the Purser, telling him, that if he knew of any such thing in the ship, and would give them directions where to find

find it, he would procure his own liberty and mine; for if we were once in a secret of that nature and importance, they would, for their own security, send us away, in preference to any other persons. The Purser assured me that there was neither money nor plate in the ship, but that in one of the lockers of the cabin there was a small case of watches, his property; and this information we agreed to give them the same evening. Some days previous to that time they had been in the custom of sending for the Purser and myself every evening, to assist them in examining the ship's papers; the usual hour arrived, and we were called for. We found the three chiefs alone in the cabin: I communicated to them what Mr. Black had told me, and he pointed out where the watches were. The case contained fifty-two, of different sorts; they presented him with six, and me with two, of the best; the rest they divided equally among themselves.

This done, I knew no more objections could be made to our departure, and, indeed, from that moment they became very indulgent towards us. The ringleaders, being naturally afraid that if we were offended we might expose their infidelity to their comrades, were extremely anxious to furnish us with an opportunity of leaving them: in fact we were now become dangerous

gerous persons, and their safe possession of their booty rendered our departure highly desirable to them; nay, even their lives were held by a precarious tenor while we remained on board.

After the ship was given up the mutineers never treated us with cruelty; though sensible of their situation, they were very cautious: they kept sentries at the cabin door, and they would only permit one or two of us at a time to walk the quarter-deck.

One day Ensign Prater, having got drunk, entered into conversation with one of the sailors publicly on deck, on the facility of retaking the ship: he was over-heard, and the ring-leaders, telling him he should be hung in the morning, hand-cuffed him, and put him to bed, observing, that though *he*, (Prater,) was no way formidable, yet, by speaking to the sailor, he had incurred the penalty pointed out in the orders they had published, which forbid any officer to speak to a sailor or soldier. This harangue effectually sobered Prater, and put an end to his military prowess; he lay howling in such a manner as was heard to the remotest parts of the ship; and, as the Purser has observed in his narrative, utterly prevented all who lay near him from sleep.

On Sunday, August the 14th, 1797, the mutineers told us that they intended to give us the
boat

boat the next day; and on Monday morning, as a preparative to our departure, they brought us some papers, which we were compelled to sign. One was a certificate, purporting that we engaged not to carry arms against France for a year and a day; and there were other certificates for the petty officers and seamen, setting forth that they were detained, against their consent, to carry the ship into the *Rio de Plata*. Some of our *non-resisting* officers pretended to have observed an unusual alacrity in the sailors in obeying the orders of the mutineers, and muttered that they did not deserve such certificates; but I solemnly declare, that, in my opinion, these suspicions were unfounded; and as to the remonstrances said to have been made by the officers of the troops, their conduct, as already described, will hardly give room to suppose them too loud. Besides, we were all in bondage, and no one durst refuse any thing required of us: could we then wonder at the conduct of ignorant sailors?

In return, the mutineers gave us a certificate that their insurrection was not owing to any ill treatment from the Captain or any officer belonging to the ship; but because they had been trepanned into the British service, without any means of redress, and had otherwise been ill treated by their Commander. This certificate, which was committed to my care, does so much
honour

honour to the memory of Captain Wilcocks, and compleatly vindicates him from any charge of misconduct to the troops, that I thought it my duty to give it to his widow.

CHAP. XIX.

*The officers and some others are allowed the boat.—The author procures leave for a boy committed to the Captain's care to go with them.—Obtains a knowledge of the ship's place by a stratagem.—They embark, after being searched for money.—Ensign Minchin's conduct and good luck.—The boat sets sail, and meets with a terrible gale.—She is nearly lost in the breakers as she approaches the coast.—Those on board forced to throw their trunks overboard; when, in the utmost distress, they see a boat coming towards them.—They make the harbour, and are hospitably received.—Minchin refuses the Purser and Mr. Murchison any assistance.—They send a report of their situation to the Governor-General.—Are sent for to Port St. Pedro, where they are hospitably received.—Their splendid entertainment by the Governor-General.—A second report made, in which, as well as the first, the author did not join.—Hospitality
of*

*of the Commandant.—The author is presented with
a sword by the Governor-General.*

ON the morning of Monday August the 15th, 1797, the intimation we had received the day before that we should leave the ship was confirmed to us, being then nearly in the latitude of 34 S. about 60 leagues from the shore, and from 80 to 100 from the mouth of *Rio Grande*; the boat was hoisted out, and every other necessary preparation made. Just then Michael Richards, a fine boy, about fourteen years of age, and of very respectable connections, who was entrusted to the care of Captain Wilcocks before we left Falmouth, and who since that gentleman's death had been abandoned by every body, solicited me to procure him permission to accompany us. His helpless situation determined me to exert myself to procure him the melancholy privilege he so much wished, and which seemed entirely necessary for him: I applied to the mutineers, and was successful. I took him under my protection, which he did not leave till he was restored to his family.

In the morning a list of names, twenty-nine in number, was made out of the persons whom it was determined should go in the boat; this was delivered to us, and we were informed that those who had any property might take each
one

one trunk. During the afternoon our baggage was searched, when I found means to conceal in some soap a considerable sum in gold: when they had taken from us every thing they fancied, they gave us some provisions, and we were suffered to embark.

Previous to our embarkation I had obtained a tolerable opportunity of ascertaining where we were, by the following stratagem: The mutineers, not suspecting that a soldier knew any thing of navigation, had permitted me to see them work their * day's works for determining the ship's place; but though I knew something of the science, I wished to have the opinion of a better judge than myself. Mr. Black, being an incomparable navigator, was the person I wished to consult; but there arose a considerable difficulty in accomplishing my design, as the mutineers were not very willing that he should see the ship's log-book, or the chart of the coast, on which they had traced her route.

One of the chief mutineers, named Thomeo, who was the best navigator among them, shewed me the chart as usual, and pointed out to me the situation of the ship, in which I pretended to differ from him, jocularly offering to

* A term used for the calculations every day made to determine the ship's place.

back my opinion with the wager of a guinea: he laughed at my seeming ignorance; but he was my dupe, and accepted my bet, proposing to refer it to any person who had competent ability to decide. This was all I wanted, and, apparently with the greatest indifference, I proposed Mr. Black; he was accordingly called for, and allowed to inspect the charts and books: I paid the loss of my wager; and we thus were enabled to determine our distance from *Rio Grande*, and the course we had to steer, of which the mutineers seemed inclined to keep us ignorant. We were compelled to get into the boat one by one, after being previously searched for money, contrary to the promise of the mutineers; none, however, was found; but they had previously seized about a *hundred dollars* which Minchin had to pay the soldiers, and which was the property of government; for this they gave him a receipt for a *hundred pounds*, with a view of enabling him to recover that amount from the State. He had so little baggage that he not only saved it all, but succeeded in getting safely to shore *eighteen whole pieces of printed cotton, and some packages of stockings and women's shoes*, which Mr. Black had thrown down in the cabin the day we were preparing to embark.

About half-past six in the evening we left the ship,

ship, and, anxious to make land as soon as possible, steered but little to the northward of west. At our departure the weather was tolerably moderate; before midnight we were assailed by a most violent storm, attended by the heaviest rains I ever witnessed. The tempest somewhat subsided toward morning, but as we approached the land, blew with redoubled fury; fortunately we had fixed up some stanchions on the boat's gunwale; and nailed a breadth of canvas, brought with us for that purpose, fore and aft, which we found of great use in keeping off the spray; and to this we owed much of our preservation.

Mr. Black, Mr. Murchison, the Second Mate, and Mr. Drummund undertook the management of the boat; Ensign Prater, who, in his earlier days, had been some voyages to the East Indies and other parts, being supposed something of a sailor, was added to their number; myself and the others were constantly employed in bailing; for, independent of the boat being very leaky, the sea ran so high, and the rain fell so heavy, that she was continually filling with water. The quick and violent motion made even the best seamen sick; poor Black was rendered incapable of action, and Prater, after all his professions, was in due form pronounced *neither sailor nor soldier*; he was turned

from the helm, and I took his place. To describe our situation is no easy task ; expecting every instant to perish, lumbered with baggage, with sick useless soldiers, women, and children, loaded almost to the water's edge, and the crowd so great that in going back and forward to work the boat we were obliged to tread on the carcases of those whom sickness or fear had forced to lie down.

On the morning of the second day we had foundings, and early in the fore-noon saw land, which we knew to be the flat sandy coast which runs from the southward of *Rio Grande* to *Cape St. Mary's* on the *Rio de Plata*. The extreme lowness of the coast causes the breakers to run very high and very far into the sea, in so much, that had the coast promised food and shelter, we could not have reached it alive, as the boat must have swamped in the breakers ; we therefore determined to steer more to the northward, still keeping the coast in sight. That day we had an imperfect observation, according to which we were then above 20 leagues to the southward of *Rio Grande* ; and, though the boat seemed almost to fly through the water, we did not expect to make the wished-for river that day. A strong current that set from the south having, however, carried us beyond our reckoning, we were surprised, about 3 P. M., to see something resembling

sembling the mast of a ship ; we stood towards it, and found it to be a wreck ; still no land was to be seen, but we perceived, more in shore, several masts which we concluded were of vessels laying at anchor, and though on standing yet farther in, nothing was to be seen as far as the eye could reach but sand, we were convinced it must be the mouth of *Rio Grande*, since we knew that the coast from thence to the *Rio de Plata* does not afford a single harbour.

The banks, which run far into the sea, made our situation horrible, as we seemed to be embayed by breakers. There did not appear any retreat for us, nor any possibility of safety, except standing to sea, and that, with the gale still blowing in all its violence, and night advancing, offered only a forlorn hope. Beset with dangers and threatened on all sides with sudden dissolution, one bold and last effort remained ; we determined to stand through the breakers and to steer a direct course for the ships we saw riding at anchor !

On approaching the shore I had yielded the helm to an able pilot, Lieutenant Drummond ; confident in his skill, forwards we went, while all who dared look up, fixed their eyes on the tremendous breakers we were about to encounter, and waited in silence that fate which seemed inevitable. In an instant the sea burst over us

in every direction, our quarter-cloaths were torn away, and the boat was filling with water. Mr. Drummond, supposing that nothing could save us but lightening her, called out to throw the trunks overboard, and desired me to drive those forward who were abaft. Mr. Murchison (the Mate) with that manly promptness and liberality which he never fails to display, set the example with his own trunk; the baggage was thrown overboard without distinction till we sufficiently lightened our vessel, and thus to his and Mr. Drummond's skill and activity we are indebted for our existence. Having passed the first range of breakers, and finding ourselves in much smoother water, but still with breakers between us and the shore, we came to an anchor, and hoisted an English jack at the mast head; but this the violence of the wind compelled us to lower the moment it was hoisted. We were, however, perceived by the signal-house at the mouth of the river, which answered us with a Portuguese flag, and by the help of a glass we could see a boat coming towards us; but finding we were fast driving to some breakers which lay between us and a point of land that runs out into the sea, we again got under sail and stood for the river.

Providence directed us to the right channel, and we met the boat very near the shore. The
Master

Master Pilot, and a Captain of militia were in her, who received us with the utmost kindness, and conducted us to the house of the former, where nothing that could give us comfort was omitted by that good man and his family. Mr. Black, Mr. Murchifon, and several others landed with all their possessions on their back, their trunks having been thrown overboard. The former of these gentlemen naturally applied to Ensign Minchin, who had, as before observed, saved *more than his own baggage*, but to little purpose, and he absolutely was forced to ask me for a change of linen. This was the more vexatious, as Mr. Black had a compleat claim on him on account of the goods which Mrs. Minchin had saved, and which were the property of Mr. Black; however, as my baggage had escaped, I had the pleasure of supplying both him and Mr. Murchifon.

When we had rested about an hour the Pilot requested that we would inform him who we were, the better to enable him to make his report to the Governor-General of the province, Lieutenant-General Sebastian Xavier da Vega Cabral e Cemara, who then, on account of the probability of war with Spain, resided at Fort St. Pedro, above four leagues up the river; he added, that we must remain where we were until an answer came from his Excellency.

It was natural for me to wish that the disadvantages under which I laboured should not be unnecessarily published; I well knew that neither Mr. Black nor Mr. Murchison, the Mate, were capable of an unkind action, nor did I entertain any doubts of Mr. Drummond. I had done every thing for the general good, and I was sure, that from them at least, I should meet with a proper return; but my opinion of the Ensigns Minchin and Prater was very different. I therefore called those two into another room, and requested them to tell me what was their intention in regard to me. They both answered, by all means to conceal every thing disagreeable, for that it was not their business to publish my misfortunes. I told them, that though I was sensible of their kindness I was indifferent to what they might have determined; but that it was necessary before I saw the General, that I should know what their determination was. I cautioned them at the same time not to deceive me, but if they thought it their duty, or felt disposed to relate my circumstances to the General, to say so, and I would do the same, when his Excellency would act as he thought proper. If, however, they first concealed and afterwards exposed me, they would only expose themselves, and might be assured, that I would not peaceably submit to any thing so mortifying. They then

then repeated, that it could never be their intention in any report they might be required to make, to say more on my subject than my name and military rank. On this I left them, and *they* proposed to Mr. Murchison, Mr. Black, &c. to do the same, to which they readily consented, and the report of the ship's name, the place of our destination, with the names and rank of every individual was given to the pilot, in which I was styled Major Semple Lisle (a Dutch officer) *a passenger*.

The Pilot conveyed this report to the Governor-General, and the next morning his Excellency sent a Non-commissioned Officer with his instructions. The Pilot was by these directed to send all who were Officers immediately up the river to him, for that he would not dine until they arrived, and the soldiers and women were ordered to follow in our own boat; Ensign Minchin, with his Lady, Prater, the Purser, and myself, accordingly embarked in the Pilot's boat, while Mr. Drummond and Mr. Murchison remained to take charge of the launch and such baggage as we had not been compelled to throw overboard.

We had not proceeded more than a league up the river, before we met the General's barge, with an officer, who informed us, that he was sent by his Excellency to congratulate us on our escape, and to conduct us to the town; we thereupon

thereupon went into the General's barge, and soon reached Fort *St. Pedro*.

We found the Governor-General in a large audience-chamber at the head of the Officers of the garrison all in full uniform. The benevolence apparent in his countenance, his manly form and the elegance of his manners filled me with admiration and respect, and inspired me with ideas of the most favourable kind, which a further knowledge amply confirmed. That inimitable General, having spent the last thirty years of his life entirely in the Brazils, would not that day venture to speak to us in French, as the few opportunities he had enjoyed of conversing in that language, might, he apprehended, have rendered him unable to express himself in the manner he could wish; but a Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, conversant in that language, was commanded by the General to enquire into our adventures, and to assure us that his Excellency would give us every assistance in his power.

The Lieutenant-Colonel immediately addressed himself to me; but anxious as I was to avoid, as far as might be, implicating myself in any concerns of the officers or soldiers, I told him that I had not, as he might perceive by the report sent from the mouth of the river, any authority or connection either with the ship or the

the troops ; that for information in whatever regarded them, his best way would be to address himself to the proper officers who were no doubt able to account for the mutiny, and to explain their own conduct, subjects upon which I did not wish to talk ; I then pointed out to him Ensign Prater, who I informed him could speak French, and that the Steward, who was likewise present, could speak both French and Italian.

The business having been by them explained to his Excellency, he informed the officers of the troops that we should experience the liberality due to the subjects of an antient ally of the Queen his Sovereign, and that they and the soldiers should be treated as his Britannic Majesty's troops were on his own establishment. The General then did me the honour to address a few words to me, and we took leave till the hour of dinner.

To amuse us till the table was prepared, a number of officers conducted us to the house of the Commandant Colonel *Manuel Marquez de Lima de Souza*. There we found a large company, who were assembled for the purpose of offering their services, and congratulating us on our happy arrival in their country. Various refreshments were presented to us, and among the rest, some extremely fine bottled porter, which, as that part of Brazil has no traffic whatever

ever with any other quarter of the world, is esteemed more than Imperial Tokai is in Great Britain. Every individual of this truly respectable assemblage loaded us with caresses, and seemed to vie with each other in acts of kindness towards us.

We returned to the General's about four, when dinner was announced, and we were most sumptuously entertained; we sat down, about forty in number, to a splendid dinner of three courses, and an elegant desert; but such is the style in which his Excellency lives.

In the evening we were conducted to the quarters which had been provided for us. His Excellency had already distinguished me, and said, as we took leave, that as he was unable to accommodate me in his own house, he had directed half of his Adjutant-General's to be prepared for me; Lieutenant Drummond expressed a desire to be lodged with me; when, finding there was sufficient room, I requested that a bed might be prepared for him which was accordingly done. Next morning the Lieutenant-Colonel of engineers, who had acted as interpreter the day before, came to my quarters to require that I would accompany him to the General's. In compliance with this request I immediately went, when, after some conversation on various subjects, his Excellency told me, that it would
be

be necessary for me, together with the officers of the ship and troops, to make a report of every particular regarding our voyage, to be transmitted to the Viceroy. I told his Excellency, that, situated as I was, I could make no report, as I had not the honour to serve Britain ; I had even left it under unpleasant circumstances, and had no concern whatever with the ship or troops, being only a passenger, as his Excellency would perceive by the report made by his Majesty's officers and those of the ship, on our arrival in his government. The General's request was therefore communicated to Ensign Minchin, and the other gentlemen, who, in consequence, drew up a report every way similar to the former one, but more ample ; it was signed by all, myself accepted, and certified regularly to be a TRUE REPORT. In this document Mr. Minchin styled himself *Lieutenant and Adjutant*, a title which he had indeed assumed from the day we left Falmouth, saying, that he had that day received his promotion.

The invitation to dine with the General was continued during our stay, and it was further intimated to me, that his Excellency wished to see me every morning at eight o'clock. On the third day, waiting upon him according to his desire, he most politely addressed me, telling me, he was confident no man deserved better to wear

a sword than myself, and concluded by presenting me with a most elegant one.

Flattering as it was to be thus distinguished by this excellent and accomplished General, still my pleasure was not totally unmingled with pain. I knew the effect this distinction would have on the minds of our *military gentlemen*, and apprehended some unpleasing event in consequence of their envy; I however continued my exertions to acquire and to deserve the friendship and protection of his Excellency, and the esteem of the garrison.

C H A P. XX.

News comes of the Lady Shore being brought into Monte Video on the Rio da Plata.—Ensign Minchin and the Purser send each a report to the Spanish Governor.—Ensign Prater's behaviour to the author, and the consequences of it.—Prater, who was in disgrace, again admitted to the General's table at the author's intercession.—Description of the province of Rio Grande, the manners of the inhabitants, and their uncommon hospitality.—Scandalous behaviour of the English soldiers.—A child of one of the English soldiers christened

ebriated at Port St. Pedro.—The Governor and a Lady of distinction stand sponsors.—The Author and his companions prepare to leave Rio Grande.—Detained by contrary winds.—The mode of catching wild cattle in that country.—The author resolves to go over land to Rio Janiero, and obtains the Governor's leave for that purpose.—The same favour refused to Mr. Minchin.

ABOUT the middle of September, the General received a letter from the Governor of *Monte Video*, a Spanish settlement on the north side of the Rio de Plata, acquainting him that an English ship had been brought in there by mutineers; that the ship's name was the *Lady Shore*, bound for Botany Bay, with British soldiers and female convicts; that the Frenchmen who then commanded her, declared that they had revolted in consequence of having been FORCED INTO THE SERVICE AS SOLDIERS; that they had made themselves masters of the ship near the *Rio Grande*; in doing which the Captain, Chief Mate, and a soldier were killed, and that they had given the ship's launch, with all things necessary, to a Major, two officers of the troops, two of the ship, and several others, at some distance from *Rio Grande*. The Governor of *Monte Video* expressed the greatest concern to know whether we got safely on shore,

shore, and solicited his Excellency, in case we were with him, to engage us to send him a report of the transaction: he added, that he was the more anxious for this, as he could rely upon our report, though not upon that of the mutineers.

His Excellency communicated the purport of this letter to me, and urged me to make a report, to be transmitted to the Governor of *Monte Video*; but I returned the same answer that I had done before, and excused myself to him as having no command in the ship, and having left home in disgrace.

Two reports were then made, one by Ensign Minchin, and one by Mr. Black, the Purser; the latter was done with candour, good sense, and propriety; but the former was of a very different description. Minchin, whether he really thought what he wrote, or whether he had private reasons for misrepresentation, repeated the ridiculous charge which has been already hinted, of the prompt obedience of the sailors to the mutineers; this he represented in a criminal light, though it was evident to every person on board that they only obeyed from necessity, and because a refusal would, in all probability, have been punished with death.

The Surgeon of the ship, a spirited, amiable, and intelligent young man, had, as I before observed,

served, been forcibly detained by the mutineers; for him I entertained the high regard he so well deserved, and, by the advice of his Excellency General da Veiga, wrote a letter to the Governor, in which I accounted for not making a report, intreating him to distinguish that meritorious young gentleman, and as an act of justice and humanity, to enable him to return to London as soon as possible. I addressed, at the same time, another to the Surgeon, both of which the General indulgently inclosed in his own letter to the Governor of *Monte Video*, and which he dispatched by a courier.

The effect which the partiality the General did me the honour to bestow upon me, began now to manifest itself in the conduct of some of my companions. Ensign Prater, in contempt and contradiction of the various reports he had signed, in violation of every social tie which arose from those habits of intimacy in which we lived from the day of our arrival at *Rio Grande*, gave a loose to that malice he could no longer contain. He not only divulged what, by the common consent of all parties, was judged proper to be concealed, but uttered a number of malicious slanders against me. These his *brother Ensign* reported to me, with many severe strictures on such unwarrantable conduct; and added, that, as he had put us all in an awkward situa-

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tion,

tion, if I was disposed to let him pass unpunished, *he would not.*

In the course of a few minutes, and while I was yet glowing with feelings much easier to be imagined than described, I saw Prater walking with Mr. Murchison, the Mate, in the street. Smitten with conscious guilt, he fled, and attempted to hide himself in the house of a burgher; I followed, and, having reached him, said, that, though I felt more ashamed than proud of drawing my sword against him, still the wanton slanders he had uttered had placed me in such a situation, in a strange country, as reduced me to the necessity of vindicating myself with the arms of a soldier; he had therefore no remedy, no hope, but in a manly defence. He stood hesitating, and I was tempted to hasten him by a hearty kick, but in vain; I told him, that, after having abused me in the manner he had done, he could not hope to screen himself behind his want of courage; still he refused to draw. My sword was already in my hand, and my point directed to his bosom, when Mr. Murchison, the Mate, (who, together with the Steward, into whose quarters he had fled, and was present at the whole affair,) seized my arm; and, perhaps, prevented me from doing that, in a paroxysm of passion; which might have embittered every cool moment of my future
ture

ture life. I, however, made him leave me his sword, and then permitted him to fly; but unfortunately, Mr. Murchison, whose goodness of heart induced him to interfere, received a severe wound across his hand, when he threw himself before me to save Prater.

That night I was put in arrest by the Commandant, who, early in the morning, carried me to the Governor; by that excellent General I was treated with great and even unusual kindness; and had the proud satisfaction to hear from himself the warmest encomium on my conduct, which he said had given me a fresh claim to his friendship. Mr. Minchin likewise waited on his Excellency, to express his disapprobation of his brother officer's conduct; and said, that though I had suffered some difficulties in my own country, which it was not his business to explain, still Prater, as well as himself, knew me to be a gentleman and an old officer. I then wished to relate to the General all the circumstances of my disgrace; but that truly great man imposed silence upon me, saying, "I will not suffer you to call to your memory any painful event."

Prater, as well as myself, had been put under arrest, and was not yet enlarged; I solicited his Excellency to discharge him, promising upon my honour, that I would no more lift my

against him while in the government of *Rio Grande*; his Excellency replied, that after such a promise from me, it was no longer necessary to keep Prater in confinement, for he was confident that *there was no danger of that gentleman's attacking me*. He therefore ordered an Aid-du-Camp to announce to him that he was at liberty; but that his appearance at the General's table would be dispensed with for the future.

The next morning Prater sent to me to propose to make any apology I might require; I answered him, that I could receive no apology from him, but I thought he would do well to apologize to the Governor for the impropriety of his conduct. He accordingly sent to the Colonel of engineers, the General's Aid-du-Camp, and myself, and addressing himself to them, he begged of them to assure his Excellency that he lamented his misconduct; and solemnly declared that what he had done proceeded from the effects of ENVY and WINE. This message was immediately delivered to the General, who smiled and said, "Tell the poor gentleman to come and dine at my table when he pleases;" and Prater, to the utter astonishment of every one who knew the transaction, never failed to appear at dinner as if nothing had happened.

The province of Rio Grande lies about the
6th

6th degree of south latitude, and 34th of west longitude; the soil is extremely fertile, producing all things in the greatest abundance, with which the inhabitants are well supplied; in fact, the luxury of the first class of the people is excessive, and such as one would scarcely expect in a place almost shut out from the rest of the world. The town of *Port St. Pedro* is situated about four leagues from the mouth of the river, from which the province takes its name; it is mostly of wood, ill-built, and straggling, with very few good houses; nor did I see above two or three that consisted of more than one floor. The Governor's house is small, but convenient and laid out entirely on a military plan. It consists of a suite of apartments, all on the ground floor. There is a handsome cathedral, with very suitable establishments about it; and I should suppose that here, as well as every where, the clergy are well taken care of.

The people, unlike those of the mother country, are remarkably clean, and dress in a splendid manner; their linen, which seems with them a favourite article of dress, is exceedingly fine, and is always so clean that it really prepossesses a stranger in their favour; notwithstanding I have ever carried cleanliness to a finical nicety, I made but a second-rate figure at *Port St. Pedro*; for such is the effect of the sun, and the

pure water, that their linen is white beyond all imagination.

1. The hospitality of the *Rio-grandians* far exceeds all I ever saw in any other part of the world; they are not contented with the cool civility which is dignified with the name of hospitality in other countries; they court the society of strangers, merely for the sake of heaping benefits upon them, and they are ever upon the watch for opportunities to do service to all that approach their dwellings. I have already said a few words on the manner in which the officers were treated, but Brazilian hospitality stops not here; the inhabitants followed the very soldiers in the streets, giving them invitations to their houses, and pressing favours upon them. How the soldiers returned these acts of kindness will be seen hereafter.

Besides the regular forces, the whole males are enrolled in the militia, and form, if not perhaps the best disciplined, by far the best dressed corps in the world; their waistcoats and breeches are generally silk, as are the linings of their coats; these, with the excessive whiteness and cleanness of their linen, render their appearance truly elegant.

The orderly and civilized manners of this elegant corps formed a striking contrast to the behaviour of our British soldiers (two Serjeants,

two Corporals, and two privates) who were there. These *heroes* were perpetually quarrelling, not only among themselves, and with their own officers, but with their benefactors in the town, on whom they never failed to bestow every abusive epithet their knowledge of the Portuguese language afforded them, by way of return for the civilities they received. This irregular and brutal conduct occasioned the General, though the mildest and most humane man living, to imprison them in the guard-house; nay, such was their behaviour, that during the seven weeks we were there, they were never *all* at liberty. So much was his Excellency displeased with them, that I have heard him repeatedly say, he would rather send them home at his own expence, than suffer them to remain in the country he governed; and all the officers of the garrison declared with one voice, that for the last ten years so many punishments had not been known in that country. Sorry am I to add, that so frequent visitors these soldiers were to the prison, that the inhabitants gave it the name of the *English barracks*.

I might fill a volume with particular instances of the kindness we experienced, but the following will certainly shew that the soldiers ought to have at least comported themselves with decency. One of their wives who came with

us had been brought to bed a few days before we left the ship; the infant as well as the mother arrived safe, and were by a Brigadier-General's widow, received into her house. She cloathed the mother, and finding the child had not yet been christened, resolved to have that ceremony performed according to the rites of the church of Rome. A christening is a very important concern in this country, and managed with much splendor; accordingly the soldier's wife was dressed very handsomely, ornamented with diamonds which the lady lent her. The Brigadier's widow and the General stood sponsors; the ceremony was conducted in a most magnificent style, and when it was over, the General presented the father with a small sum, which would probably afterwards have been augmented, had not his misconduct precluded his Excellency's bounty.

We had been six weeks in *Rio Grande*, every day experiencing fresh marks of kindness from the General and the inhabitants; it may indeed be truly said, that his Excellency makes humanity his employment, and that those under him strive to imitate him. To myself he was continually shewing new proofs of friendship, and when I was about to go, earnestly intreated me to remain with him; an invitation too honourable and too flattering to have been declined,

clined, had I not, for many reasons, thought my presence in Britain absolutely necessary.

About the 20th of September we prepared to go on board some coasting vessels for *Rio de Janeiro*; Ensign Minchin, his Lady, the Purser, and myself, embarked in one vessel, and Ensign Prater, Mr. Drummond, the soldiers' wives, and the rest of our company on board four others. The General made me several valuable presents at my departure, and besides filled our ship with abundance of all kinds of provisions for the passage.

The wind proving unfavourable we remained three weeks at the mouth of the harbour, where we amused ourselves with shooting. We found vast numbers of a kind of plover, called by the Portuguese *Quero-Quero*, from their cry; partridges are by no means plentiful, but there are abundance of snipes, storks, sea parrots, &c. The great number of vultures that abound here are a real blessing to the inhabitants, who kill every year vast quantities of wild cattle for the sake of the skins; the carcases which they leave in the woods would, by their putrefaction, occasion pestilence, did not they find a ready sepulchre in the rapacious maws of these voracious birds.

They take these cattle in a very singular manner. One of their methods is by means of

a thong of plaited leather, from thirty to forty feet in length ; a ring of iron at one end serves to pass the other end through, and thus form a running noose. The Indian who uses this, gets within reach of a horse or bullock, and taking a large coil of the thong in his right hand, and several others ready to veer away in his left ; he dexterously throws it over the animal's head, while he is flying from him full speed, and by a sudden check brings him to the ground. Their other method is by three balls connected by a thong, two of which are about three inches in diameter, and the third, which is to be held in the hand about two inches. The hunter, when he wishes to use this, takes the small ball in his right-hand, and swings the other two round his head till he has got the proper aim and velocity; he then throws it at the legs of the animal he is pursuing, with such dexterity, as either to break or entangle them as he thinks fit. With these instruments, it is computed that from three to four hundred thousand head of cattle are annually slaughtered.

We were several days detained by contrary winds, and it being the general opinion of all who knew the coast, that the wind would not shift till the moon changed, my anxiety to return to Europe increased, and my natural impatience of temper rendered me quite unhappy.

I therefore resolved to solicit the Governor to permit me to go over land, in spite of the danger and difficulty attending such an expedition ; but before I applied to his Excellency I prevailed on Mr. Black the Purser, to promise to accompany me.

In consequence of this resolution I dispatched a messenger to his Excellency the General, who, with his usual kindness and politeness, returned me an immediate answer, allowing me to go when I pleased, and to take with me whom I might chuse.

Next morning, at day-break, we disembarked to return to town. When we left the ship the wind was contrary, but just as we reached the shore it chopped about ; the pilot made the signal for the vessels, ten in all, to weigh ; we stood on the brink of the river, and, with some regret, saw them stand to sea, and every ship, except that which we had just left, pass the bar in safety. She struck upon a bank, and a violent gale springing up at that moment, the pilot went to her assistance, but thinking her lost, his own boat and the ship's launch took out all the persons on board. Mr. and Mrs. Minchin saved all their property, but Mr. Black's trunk and mine were left on board, and the ship presently after going to pieces, the unfortunate Purser was again stripped of almost every thing.

Mr.

Mr. Minchin landed on the north side of the river, which is very broad, and we were on the south, where no boat was to be had; they therefore went to the pilot's, and we mounted our horses to proceed to the town. The General had already learnt from the signals, that one of the ships had been lost on the bank; from us he learnt all the particulars, and next morning sent his barge to bring Mr. and Mrs. Minchin to town.

Mr. Minchin requested the General to permit him to proceed over land, but his Excellency thought proper to refuse, telling him, that he would provide him a passage in one of the next ships, which would sail in the course of a few days. The General added, that such an indulgence was very unusual, and that his granting it to me was purely the effect of private friendship, as he must answer himself for any consequences that might ensue.

CHAP. XXI.

The author prepares for his journey, accompanied by Mr. Black, Richards a boy, a Brazilian servant, two dragoons, and two Indians.—Set out, and lay the first night at Tropa Velha, where the country begins to grow fertile.—Elegant entertainment there.

there.—Dine at the but of a poor Farmer.—Sleep at the house of an officer of auxiliary dragoons, where the entertainment is magnificent.—Remarkable situation of Moistardio.—Manner of marking horses on the royal farms.—Dexterity of the Indians in the use of two very singular weapons.—A merry prank played on a Farmer.—Torres, a fort on the frontiers of the province of Rio Grande, description of it; vast number of seals there.—Brazilian cavalry.—Character of the inhabitants of Rio Grande.—Farinha, a root used as a substitute for bread.—Difficulty in crossing a large river.—A curious old Frenchman.—Extraordinary mode of fishing.—Mountains near Laguna.—Part with their former guides.—From Laguna the road towards St. Catharine's very bad.—Stop at a whale fishery, and next day arrive at St. Catharine's.

WE are now prepared for our journey, with the fatigues of which we were made fully acquainted, both by the General and others, who knew and had experienced them. They represented to me in very urgent terms, that none but a strong man inured to fatigue, could support such an expedition, through a country in many places desolate, and in all but thinly inhabited; for my safety they expressed no apprehension, as my habits had ever been of the laborious and enterprising kind; but they with a well-meant earnestness

earnestness of intreaty, desired me by no means to think of taking Mr. Black or the boy Richards with me.

Though Mr. Black was not an expert horseman, and the boy had never been in the saddle; the former treated the fatigue and danger with contempt, and I was moreover, besides the wish I had for such a companion, bound to him by a promise; as for the boy, his artless intreaties were irresistible; and he had so long been used to look up to me as his only protector, that he would not be dissuaded; I was therefore obliged to permit him to join in the expedition.

The mode of travelling in that country is truly singular. There are no inns or any place where fresh horses may be regularly procured, the traveller therefore takes with him from *fifty to a hundred horses*, by far the greater part of which have never been mounted; these are driven before him quite loose, by one or two Indians, and when the horse on which he rides is fatigued, the Indian catches him another. This would to an European be no easy task, but here it is far otherwise; for you have only to point out the horse you wish, and the Indian makes directly at him, throws his *thong* or *lance*, before described, over the animal's head, and, in spite of all his efforts, leads him to you.

His Excellency had given me an old dragoon,
who

who knew the country, for a guide, and a militia dragoon, to add to our force; we had also two Indians to drive our horses. We were furnished with leathern baskets for our baggage, which are laid on the backs of the horses, somewhat like panniers; we had, however, not much to carry, the whole consisting of a few changes of linen, and a spare coat, our heavy articles having been left in the ship and lost by her being wrecked.

We took leave of our most worthy friend and benefactor the Governor, who, together with most of the officers of the garrison accompanied us to the river side. Our conductor, who was already in the north town, having prepared every thing for our departure, we crossed that evening, a distance considerably above a league. On the fourth of October, about seven in the morning, Black, myself, little Richards, and a servant I had engaged at *Rio Grande*, began our march. About eleven we reached the village of *Esfreita*, where we dined with the curate, who gave us a very friendly reception. After dinner we resumed our route on fresh horses, and in the evening, about six, we arrived at the house of a captain of auxiliary cavalry, about eleven leagues distant from the place whence we set out.

We were elegantly entertained, but sat down to supper by ourselves, the whole family being
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under the deepest affliction for the loss of a dear relation, who died a few days before. This relation had come to a tragical end while we were preparing for our journey, having been found murdered upon the shore near St. Pedro. It was generally supposed that he had been detected in an intrigue, as he had been several times observed by his servants to go out late in the evening, disguised and armed; from the mark about his neck it was evident that he had been suddenly caught by a *lace, no very unusual mode of assassination in that country, and having been thus strangled was thrown into the water.

A little before we reached this place, where we took up our first night's quarters, the country begun to look more fertile, and cultivation to appear. This captain's house is one of those appointed for the reception of the Governor, in his journeys between *Port Allegro*, a town situated about 60 leagues up the *Rio Grande*, where he usually resides, and *Port St. Pedro*, which he only occasionally visits. Our supper was, as I have before mentioned, very sumptuous, and might, at least, have handsomely entertained forty persons; a vast quantity of provision went away untasted, and after a fine desert, and plenty of excellent wines, we retired to rest; our beds

* The natives give the name of *lace* to the plaited leather thong with which they catch animals.

were suitable to our supper; I slept in that appropriated to the General, and Mr. Black in that of his Adjutant. The whole of this seat is extremely pleasant, and the gardens are laid out with taste; it belongs to Captain *Luiz da Souza*, who, from his being the oldest captain, called it *Tropa Velha*, or the old troop.

After a hearty breakfast we took leave of our hospitable entertainer, and proceeded on our journey through a fine romantic country. About eleven we reached a hut, where we could have nothing to eat till they killed a sheep, upon part of which we dined. In this hut the crew of a south-seaman, wrecked upon the coast some years ago, lived a considerable time, and one of them who embraced the Roman Catholic faith, still remains a few leagues off. The General, whose humanity every stranger is sure to experience, not only stood sponsor to him at the time of his second baptism, but shewed him many marks of favour, which, so far as I could learn, he very little deserved.

After a short repose during the heat of the day, when, in fact, travelling is almost impossible, we again proceeded on our journey, and that night were entertained at the house of a Captain of dragoons, named *Joze Carneiro Geraldes*. This gentleman's house is likewise one of those where the General reposes in his pro-

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gresses,

gresses, and here again we were feasted in a sumptuous manner. Our beds were extremely magnificent, and here, as the night before, and I may add, so long as we slept at his Excellency's houses of rest, I was complimented with the General's own bed, and Mr. Black with that of his Adjutant. Next morning we were furnished with provisions and other necessaries, and after breakfast set forward.

About our usual hour we reached the village of *Moistardio*, where we dined with the vicar, a man of good education and polite manners, who gave us a very kind reception. This village is remarkable for its situation, being in the middle of a sand, though surrounded by a very fine and fertile country; it consists of one large street of tolerably well-built houses. After dinner we continued our route to *Nasantia de Pavoz*, a royal farm. Here, to the number of horses we had already collected, and were driving before us, we added about a dozen; they are the property of the crown, and are distinguished by having one ear cut.

The adjacent country, as far as can be seen, is covered with infinite numbers of wild horses, some few of which may indeed have been once or twice mounted, and then again lost or turned loose, but by far the greatest part are in a state
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of nature. The inhabitants keep a few, and but a few domestic ones, and when they want any for the King's service, for which demands are frequently made, they catch the wild ones, and among the number thus collected, the traveller must select those he means to ride. As neither of my British companions nor my servant were expert horsemen, I always desired that they should have the tamest horses. Little Richards, on account of his youth, I mounted on the most tractable, Mr. Black claimed the next preference, and then my Brazilian servant; as to myself, the dragoons, and the Indians, we took any that offered, if they only appeared to be able to perform their work.

Next day we reached the house of an auxiliary Captain, where we dined, and were entertained in a plain hospitable manner; after dinner we again proceeded, and I was eye-witness to a piece of Indian dexterity and address, which I cannot forbear relating at full length, as it will more forcibly than any description exemplify the manner in which they use their plaited thong, called in that country *lace*, and their *balls*.

Towards evening one of the horses which we were driving before us, contrary to the common practice of those animals, seemed determined to escape from his companions. After several

fruitless attempts, he at length succeeded in detaching himself, and galloped away at a most furious rate; one of the Indians pursued him, I accompanied him in the chase. After following him for at least an hour, over every obstacle, during which time the Indian made several vain attempts to noose him in his *lace*, no resource was left, since night was coming on and we were drawing near a wood, but the *balls*. These are never unnecessarily used, as the danger of laming the animal is considerable; but the prospect of losing the horse in the thicket, and perhaps a little pique at the trouble occasioned by the unruly beast, induced the Indian to apply to this last expedient. He therefore took his balls, as before described; holding the small one in his right hand, he followed the object of our pursuit, whirling them round his head till he saw his opportunity; when (at about forty yards distance) he threw them with great force at the animal. The balls flew whirling through the air, and completely entangled the hind legs of the horse, so that they were deprived of all motion unless together. Thus hampered, the furious beast dragged himself near a mile, until fatigue compelled him to stop, when the Indian, with great dexterity, threw the lace over his head, and hawled it tight round his neck. Curious to know how he would un-
fix

fix the balls, which were twisted in a very extraordinary manner round the horse's hind legs, I offered no assistance, but suffered him to manage the business entirely by himself.

He began by dismounting, and still keeping his *lace* tight, tied a knot with the end of it round the fore legs of the horse, by the means of which he in a moment threw him upon his side; he then set his foot on the horse's neck, but without slackening that part of the lace which was round it, and crawled down over his body, till he could reach the hind legs, from which he disentangled the *balls*; after this he slipped the knot which tied the fore legs, and allowing him to rise, led him away. We then rejoined our companions, and reached the house of a farmer, who was also an auxiliary Lieutenant, situated in a most romantic spot; on one side, the view is bounded by mountains, and on the other, it opens to an extensive prospect, where woods, lakes, and rivers afford a most charming relief to each other. The country is very fertile, and the uncultivated parts abound in game, and immense numbers of wild horses and cattle; ostriches are also very plentiful here.

We were hospitably received, and provided with good accommodations of every sort, and in the morning pursued our journey. About

noon we arrived at a very poor farm, where we could procure no refreshment, except a little milk : we therefore had recourse to the provisions we had brought with us, and in the evening found ourselves at a farm not much better than that we had lately left ; here we passed the night.

Next morning, about ten, we came to a river, which we forded, and about noon came to some fishermen's huts on the banks of the river, near its mouth ; we were again compelled to dine on our own provisions, and then forded the river a second time. About five we arrived at a cluster of ruined huts, occupied by a few negroes, and a new unfinished house at a small distance. Here we found nothing but some beef, milk, and eggs, and the negroes huts were so ruinous and filthy, that it was impossible to enter them without disgust ; the new house was shut up, the windows were barred on the inside, one door was bolted within, the other locked, and the owner, who was gone to another estate he occupied at a considerable distance, had the key with him. Notwithstanding I had often lain in the fields, I did not feel myself at all disposed to do so when a good house presented itself, but the difficulty was how to get in. We could not force the windows without doing injury, on account of the strength of the bars ; but an opening

ing of considerable size over each door, though too small to creep through, gave us a view of the interior of the house. By looking through the hole over the door which was locked, I could perceive where the bolt on the inside of the other was; one person was therefore held up by the rest of us, who, putting his arm and a long stick through the aperture over the bolted door, with much difficulty, after a number of ineffectual efforts, withdrew the bolt.

We found the house totally unfurnished, but there was a side of bacon and a cheese, with which we made free to augment our supper; we then made our beds of our horse cloths and went to rest. In the morning, when ready to depart, we resolved to play a fly joke upon our landlord, and accordingly first bolted the locked door, so as to render his key useless. We then all went out, except the boy Richards, who, having bolted the other door, built himself a little stage, by the help of which he reached the hole over it. Through this we with difficulty dragged him, and then having pushed down the stage with a stick, and bribed the negroes to secrecy, we departed, leaving the owner to exercise his ingenuity in contriving how he might enter his own house.

The evening was almost dark when we arrived here; but the beautiful view which opened upon

us in the morning, made me quit this place with regret. The country round was astonishingly fertile, and abounded in all sorts of game ; the house itself stood about half a mile from a noble and extensive lake, bordered by a margin of luxuriant grass ; beyond this arose a grove of stately trees, which never lose their verdure, while the range of mountains, which runs along the coast, bounded the prospect, and harmonized in a most picturesque manner, with the pure azure of the sky. Having quitted this beautiful scenery, we proceeded on our march, and having refreshed ourselves at a farm, went on to *Torres*, a fort situated on an eminence by the sea on the frontiers of the province of *Rio Grande*.

About a league before we came to *Torres*, the road led us down to the sea coast, where we travelled along the sands, close to the water, for a considerable distance. Here we had a full view of the mountain on which the fort is built, and of another abreast of it, each of which presents a perpendicular front of rocks, of amazing height, to the sea ; these with some small craggy islands very near the shore exhibit a majestic view, and form a striking contrast to the scenes of fertility we had just left. The fort, though it might be rendered impregnable, in its present state, hardly merits the name. Some batteries

are indeed begun, but none are finished; nor did I see more than two guns mounted.

The dragoon, who had been our conductor on our march, was now so fatigued that rest was indispensibly necessary for him. His exertions had really been surprising; for he had the charge of every thing, and had rode at least three miles where we had rode one; my servant likewise was totally worn out; I therefore consented to stop twenty-four hours. To this I was the more readily induced as the society we met with was highly amiable; for the Lieutenant who commanded, had two charming daughters who sung delightfully, and played with much taste on the harp and other instruments.

The morning after our arrival I explored the mountain on which the fort stands, as well as the adjacent one, each of which, especially the latter, is perpendicular towards the sea. The rock forms a cove, at the bottom of which is an inaccessible cave; into this, even in the most moderate weather, the sea rolls with a most tremendous noise, that may be heard many leagues, and sometimes, in strong easterly gales, even rises above its roof. From hence, as well as from the fort of *Torres*, we could distinctly see those small rocky islands, which I have before mentioned; from this place, they seemed alive on account of the great number of seals with which

which they were covered. The Lieutenant shewed me several skins of such as he had killed, many of which were fully as large and coarse as a bull's hide.

This is the northernmost frontiers of the province of *Rio Grande*, and though but thinly inhabited, the Lieutenant assured me he could, whenever it might be required, collect five hundred men in twenty-four hours, all of them trained to arms. I must here remark that this gentleman was more than commonly intelligent, and very capable of shining in a much higher sphere than that in which he then moved.

The only commodities of this fertile and beautiful country are corn and hides; with the former, they supply the rest of *Brazil*, and the latter are exported to *Rio Janeiro*, and thence to Europe. The Brazilian cavalry might be made the best in the world, especially for that country; the horses are excellent, and will live where an European horse could not exist. The men are robust and hardy, and being accustomed from their infancy to the saddle, support fatigues on horseback in an astonishing manner. Every dragoon, besides the horse on which he rides, has from two to five spare ones, which accompany the regiment; he carries, besides the usual arms of a horseman, his *lace* and *balls*, and when he finds his horse tired, he turns him loose, and catches

catches another, which he immediately mounts. Their elegance is very great ; even the privates having their large spurs and their sword hilts of massive silver.

The inhabitants of the province of *Rio Grande* differ considerably from those of the rest of Brazil, as well as from those of Portugal ; they are active and industrious ; remarkably hospitable to strangers, and exhibit strong marks of cheerfulness and good temper in every look.

We rested at Torres one day as had been agreed upon, and our guide finding himself capable of travelling we resumed our march. We set out at day-light, and immediately on quitting Torres entered the *Captania* of *Santa Catharina*. Our route lay along the sea shore, and about noon we came to an hut where we could procure no provisions except milk and a little rum, so that we were compelled to dine upon this and a little *farinha* which we carried with us.

As I may have occasion to mention the *farinha* again, it will not be, perhaps, wandering too far from my line to give some account of this singular production. The Portuguese call it *farinha de pao*, or *flour of wood*, and prepare it from the root of a shrubby plant, every where to be found in Brazil ; the root is succulent, and about an inch in diameter at largest. When roasted it tastes very like a potatoe ; but to prepare

pare it as a substitute for bread, they employ a sort of mill, which carries a large circular grater; this machine reduces the *farinha* rather to little lumps than to the state of flour, and it is thus eaten by the country people, either alone, or mixed up with cold water into a sort of paste. When the Portuguese ships of war are on the Brazil station, it is served out to the people under the name of *farinha de guerra*; they seem to like it much, and sometimes eat it baked with sugar or treacle, when it forms a sort of sweetmeat, far from disagreeable. *Farinha* and *bananas*, which are equally plentiful, form almost the sole food of the negroes; and all the inhabitants, without distinction, are so accustomed to it, that very little bread is made use of.

Having waited to refresh ourselves during the heat of the day, we proceeded on our route, and in the evening reached a river which it was necessary we should cross, in order that we might procure quarters at a guard-house that has been built on the opposite side. It was so dark that we could not be seen by the guard on the other side, who are placed there to ferry passengers across in canoes, and the river was so broad that we could not make ourselves heard. Notwithstanding the rapidity of the stream my servant stripped and swam over; he found the soldiers, who

who instantly came for us. Our horses, to the number of about fifty, we swam across, and turned them to feed, during the night in a meadow near the banks; we ourselves were compelled to sleep in a sorry guard-house, occupied by about a dozen militia soldiers. We could meet with no sort of provisions, except some badly dried fish, not even so much as *farinha*; fortunately, however, in the bottom of a bag, in which we had carried some provisions, we found a few handfuls, on which, and a little rum, we had brought from the hut where we had stopped at noon, we made our supper. Our saddle cloaths were our beds for the night, during which a vast quantity of rain fell; the roof was totally inadequate to keeping us dry, and we were almost as completely drenched as if we had remained in the open air.

Early in the morning we were visited by a little old Frenchman who lived farther up the river; he had come into that country as a soldier, and had lived there twenty-six years, during which time he had never heard his own language spoken. Through want of practice he had almost forgotten it, nor yet could he explain himself in Portuguese; in short, none but his own family could comprehend him. Not being able to make himself understood by words, he attempted to do it by signs and gestures;

tures; in these, by long habit, he had acquired a most grotesque facility, and absolutely sometimes, might have been mistaken for a great baboon.

At seven next morning our horses were collected, and we prepared to continue our journey. We found ourselves obliged to pass another branch of the same river, not less rapid than the former; the horses were sent over by the dragoons and Indians, and we followed in a canoe.

Here we saw an extraordinary mode of fishing, almost incredible indeed, and what I should not perhaps have ventured to mention, had not Mr. Black, in his narrative, already published it. The fish, at the river's mouth, are so very plentiful, that the shoals seem to cover the surface of the water, and nothing more is done than to beat the waves with the paddles of the canoes. The fish, thus alarmed, having no room to save themselves by swimming, leap out of the water in such numbers, that those which accidentally fall into the canoe, are sufficient to load it in a few minutes.

When we had crossed this river, one of our horses took in his head to leave his companions, and set off as fast as he could; he was followed by many others, and we were in danger of losing several more. The same Indian, who had

had so nimbly pursued the former fugitive, whose adventure I have already related, immediately gallopped after them, and I thinking he might be unable to manage them all, joined the chase. We followed them a long time over the hot burning sands, in many places almost up to our horses bellies; but at length we succeeded in bringing them all back, and about noon rested at some huts, where we procured a little rum, and dined upon some fish we had bought from the men we saw catching them at the mouth of the river.

After dinner, we resumed our journey, depending upon the information of our guides, that we might reach the town of *Laguna* that night, which they said was only about five leagues off. We were, however, disappointed, and in the evening found that we were some leagues from that town; we therefore went to the house of a priest, who was not at home, but having got some fowls from the slaves, who also killed a sheep to accommodate us, we staid there that night, and in the morning set off for *Laguna*.

Here we met with the only mountains except those at *Torres*, which we were obliged to cross. We passed several hills of sand, of great magnitude, and at last reached the top of a rocky precipice, where we found that our guides
had

quired our united efforts to disengage him. In many parts the road was so steep that I, though vanity flatters me with being a skilful horseman, could with difficulty keep my seat; nor is this all, for the trees over-hang the way in such a manner, that during many hours we were forced to crouch down upon our horses necks, and in that painful posture we had to ascend and descend precipices.

We marched to a species of music every way adapted to the rugged scenes around us; the roaring of different savage beasts, and the hissing of serpents were heard every moment; but though we often judged from the horrid sounds that they were very near us, we saw none. After a most troublesome and fatiguing march we reached a whale fishery, about eleven or twelve leagues from St. Catharine's, a little after sunset.

Here we were kindly received by the superintendant, apparently an intelligent man; he inhabited an excellent house, the best I had till then seen in the country, and shewed us all the works and buildings belonging to the place. From the complaints he made against the British whale-fishers, it should seem that in this place they sensibly, and to their loss, feel the effects of the industry and activity of my countrymen.

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By his advice we agreed to proceed from hence to St. Catharine's in one of his whale-boats, being quite discouraged by his description of the road, which he represented as even worse than that we had passed. We left the fishery early in the morning, and about two o'clock reached the place of our destination.

This passage for beauty exceeds any thing I have ever seen or heard of, laying between a range of most fertile mountains, distant from each other, in the narrowest places, about a league. The whole coast, on both sides, seems an *orangerie*; on our passage we were induced to stop at a farm-house, in a most delightful situation, to refresh ourselves, and there the people almost loaded our boat with excellent oranges.

CHAP. XXII:

Arrival at St. Catharine's, honourably received there.—The Portuguese fleet from Rio de Janeiro laying in the road of St. Catharine's, the author's arrival is announced to the Admiral.—Superb ceremony at the Admiral's landing.—Character of the troops there.—The curious manner in which

the Indians ride.—The author meets with an old acquaintance.—Is most kindly treated by the Admiral.—He and Mr. Black go to dine with the Admiral, and visit the other Captains.—They pass their time in every pleasure.—They sail for Rio de Janeiro.—The author is treated with much distinction by the Admiral.—He presents his letters to the Adjutant-General and the Viceroy.—The perfidy of Ensign Minchin, who gets into disgrace for it.—Minchin and Prater make application to the Viceroy to be paid as in England, which is refused.—The author refuses to receive any money.—They prepare to depart, and the author is sent on board the Ulysses.—Mr. Murchison and Mr. Black embark on board two South-sea whalers. All, except the author, ordered on board.—Ensign Minchin's humorous embarkation.

ON our arrival at St. Catharine's we were conducted to the Governor, to whom I presented the letter of recommendation which the Governor-General of Rio Grande had given me. We were received with much politeness, and apartments in the palace assigned to us. I acquainted the Governor with my desire to continue my journey to *Rio de Janeiro* immediately by land, if it were possible, if not, to be allowed to embark in the first ship; he told me, that we were very fortunate, for that Admiral *Antonio*
Januario

Januario de Valle, had arrived from *Rio de Janeiro*, only two days before, with a squadron of four ships of the line, three frigates and a brig. He added, that the Admiral with his fleet lay in the road, about four miles below the town, and that he had not yet been on shore, but was expected the next day, and that, most probably, he would furnish us with a passage to the port we wished to reach. The Governor the same night sent his Aid-de-Camp on board the Admiral's ship to acquaint him with our adventure and arrival at St. Catharine's.

The second day after our arrival the Admiral came on shore with great ceremony. Not only the garrison of the town and all the militia of the island, but a battalion of infantry then in that place, on its march for *Rio Grande*, were assembled, and formed in two lines from the parade before the palace to the landing-place, to receive his Excellency.

The troops made a very fine figure, were well dressed, and the cavalry particularly verified the opinion I had formed of them in *Rio Grande*. The militia uniform of that island, both for cavalry and infantry is light blue; they are stout, well made men, and the horses are better than in *Rio Grande*. This is owing to their eating corn, which those of *Rio Grande*, except such as are tamed and accustomed to it,

will not touch ; but the great number of them, which are every where to be found, renders a single horse of very little importance. The Indians, who are very dextrous in catching them, ride in a very singular manner ; their saddle is coarse, and the girths are of hide ; their bridles exactly resemble those of the Moors, Turks, and Tartars, a circumstance which the more astonishes me that there is no connection between the countries, but their stirrups are widely different, and truly singular in their construction ; they consist of a piece of wood which forms a sort of semicircle, about an inch diameter, and there is a hole through each end of this to receive the stirrup leather. The Indian fixes his *great toe* in this curved piece of wood, which is just large enough to receive it, nor does he touch the stirrup with any other part of his foot ; in fact, they ride (contrary to the practice of the Moors, &c.) with such long stirrups, that it requires the utmost extent of the leg, to reach them even with the toe.

The Admiral's departure from his ship was announced by the usual salute, and a signal gun was fired from every fort on the coast between the road where the ships lay and the town ; these forts, as he passed them, likewise fired a royal salute. This great ceremony was performed because his Excellency had come from Lisbon, invested

invested by the royal commission with extraordinary powers to inspect into the affairs of Brazil. He came on shore in a very elegant barge, accompanied by all the Captains and other superior officers of his squadron, whose boats followed his in order, according to their rank and seniority.

As he approached the landing-place, Mr. Black and myself accompanied the Governor and Staff to receive him; we were there presented merely as matter of form, but no conversation took place at that time. From the landing-place the Admiral went in state to the church, and having heard mass, he entered into conversation; for it is the etiquette of Portugal never to enter upon any business till the ceremonies of religion have been complied with.

Among the officers who attended his Excellency, was a French nobleman, who had known me on the Continent with the army of the Rhine, at a time when I was honoured with the friendship and confidence of the distinguished personages whom I have already mentioned. The Admiral having seen the letter of recommendation which I brought, and being himself a man of amiable manners, spoke to me in the most polite terms, begging that he might have the pleasure of supplying the loss I had sustained by my separation from such a friend as General

da Veiga. He returned on board very late that evening, and on leaving us, invited us on board his ship the following day. One of the commanders of a line-of-battle ship also gave us an invitation to spend a day with him, and told the Admiral that he would send his barge for us; this gentleman was our countryman Captain Thompson, an officer whose praises need not my feeble pen to enumerate them.

Next day Captain Thompson's boat came for us, and we went immediately to the Admiral's ship; he received us with the greatest politeness, and having paid our respects to him, we made visits, in the course of the forenoon, to all the other Captains. We returned to dine with his Excellency, and when we took leave in the evening, he told us to look upon his ship as our home. While we remained there, he added, that for the voyage he would accommodate me, the boy, and my servant, on board his own ship, and that he would provide a passage for Mr. Black in another of his squadron. Captain Thompson, on learning this from us, solicited that Mr. Black might go with him, to which the Admiral gave his assent.

On board the Admiral's ship we had the pleasure to meet with a countryman, Phillip Hancorne, Esq. equally distinguished by the elegance of his manners, his talents, and his appearance;

pearance; he then held the honourable rank of Captain of the Fleet, or what they call *Major General da Esquadra*; and of this gentleman, to whom I stand infinitely indebted, I shall have to say much hereafter.

We returned to the palace of St. Catharine's, and during our stay there, which was about three weeks, we were treated with the most polite attention by the Governor and principal inhabitants of the island. Our amusements were various; the Governor, who was very fond of music and dancing, gave frequent balls, at which many of the officers of the Fleet attended; and the more to encourage the Admiral, who would not sleep out of his ship to come on shore, he left the town of St. Catharine's, and removed to a house at St. Antonio. This is a most pleasant situation, and much nearer to where the fleet lay at anchor than the town of St. Catharine's, where we continued to reside, paying frequent occasional visits to St. Antonio, and passing our time in a most pleasant manner. I here contracted an intimacy with Major Joaquim Correa da Serra, Chief of Engineers, a man of universal knowledge, whose professional talents intitle him to the most brilliant situation; such, indeed, are his various accomplishments, that I never think of him, without lamenting that he is not more usefully employed.

The

The island of St. Catharine's is remarkably fertile, and might, with a little pains, be made a most productive spot; but so great is the laziness of the inhabitants, that little or nothing is done by them, even the cattle for the market being brought from Rio Grande.

On the 31st of October 1797, while we were enjoying all the amusements of the place, our approaching departure was announced to me by Phillip Hancorne, Esq. in the following polite note:

"The Major-General of the Esquadra presents
"his compliments to Major Lisle, has the honour to inform him, that the * General would
"wish him to embark to-morrow, and that a
"boat shall be at the town of St. Antonio,
"agreeable to the wish of Major Lisle. Captain Thompson begged of the General to suffer Mr. Black to embark in his ship, which
"he supposes Major Lisle to be acquainted
"with.

"31st October, 1797."

Addressed "*Major Lisle, &c. &c.*"

On the 4th of November the fleet sailed for *Rio de Janeiro*, where we arrived on the 18th. During our voyage I had a very neat and commodious cabin assigned to me, and lived at the

* In Portugal, the Commander, either by land or sea, is styled General.

Admiral's

Admiral's table; nor did I ever meet with a better seaman, a better commander, or a more accomplished gentleman. To him, in the course of conversation, I communicated my real situation, and found, to my great satisfaction, that he was disposed to judge for himself, as he was free from those narrow prejudices which haunt little minds; nor had the discovery I made to him any other effect than of making him, if possible, redouble his kindness to me.

Immediately after we had come to anchor, Brigadier General *Gaspar Joze*, Adjutant-General to the Viceroy, came on board from his Excellency, to compliment the Admiral on his arrival; having letters of recommendation to him, I likewise committed to his charge those I had to the Viceroy. The night we arrived some South-sea whalers came into the harbour, and Mr. Black, by the desire of Captain Thompson, went aboard one of them, to purchase some porter for him; on board this ship he met with some of our officers, all of whom had arrived before us, and who had gone to enquire after English news; by whom he was told, that, *somehow*, my real situation had come to the ears of the Viceroy. This he immediately communicated, with a very friendly solicitude, and seemed alarmed at it; when I told him not to fear, but to hold himself in readiness to go on shore at eight next morning.

morning. Not chusing, however, to involve himself in any disagreeable affair that might happen to me, he avoided going under pretence of sickness, and thus missed the honour of being presented.

Next day I went, accompanied by an officer of the fleet, to the palace, where the Viceroy received me with much politeness. I requested his permission to reside on shore, with which he readily complied, and informed me, that next day he would give directions for a house to be prepared for my accommodation. Having likewise a recommendation to the Bishop, I paid my respects to him, and was received by that excellent Prelate with every mark of kindness; I then went with the officer, who came with me from the ship, to the house of the Interpreter, where Minchin and his wife lodged. He seemed almost petrified with surprize at seeing me, and told me, it was generally supposed, from the length of time we had been on the road, we had found some ship bound for Europe at St. Catharine's, and had embarked in her. He complained in the most bitter terms of the Viceroy, who had, he said, refused to see him, and had only allowed him and his wife each 12 vintins (about 17*d*.) a day, to subsist upon; that the same sum was given to the soldiers, women, and children; and that he had *heard*
that

that some one, Drummond and Murchison, as he supposed, had acquainted the *Viceroy* with every thing relating to me. I at once saw shame and confusion in his face, and concluded very naturally that he had done what he attributed to them; an action which he had so much reprobated in his brother officer at *Rio Grande*, and for which he dreaded the same vengeance I had there inflicted on the other delinquent. I however said nothing, but immediately took my leave, and a few steps from the door, met the two gentlemen he had so slandered. I at once put the plain question to them, when both solemnly declared, that nothing concerning me had been asked of them, nor had they uttered one syllable; but they had heard from the person who translated Minchin's letter, that he had wrote to the Viceroy every thing that I could suppose most unpleasing.

Having obtained this information I repaired immediately to the castle, but the Viceroy having retired, I could not have an interview with him; I therefore inquired for the Count Don Luiz his son, who was his Aid-de-Camp. To him I acknowledged what my circumstances really were; I likewise told him that the gentlemen who accompanied me had, of their own accord, as appeared from the reports previously signed by them, concealed the disagreeable part of my history,

history, and I could not therefore, at that time, suffer them to circulate one word that should give me pain; I added, that from him, as a man of rank and an officer, I could not but expect liberality, and I therefore conjured him to tell me, with the frankness of a soldier, if any thing had been said, and by whom. With open candour, he at once acknowledged, that *the officer in the scarlet uniform who came last*, had sent a letter on the subject to his father, but that it would do me no injury with him, as he had that very day said, that the recommendations given me by General da Veiga and the Admiral, as well as my own appearance, gave me a claim to his protection, and that he would distinguish me from the rest. I assured the Count Don Luiz of my gratitude for the kindness of the Viceroy; then taking leave, and it being already late, I stepped into the Admiral's barge, which was waiting for me, and went on board.

Next day I returned, and having found a retreat, I wrote to the Admiral, *Major-General da Esquadra*, and the Viceroy, acknowledging every thing, but telling them, that I trusted to their liberality, and expected they would treat me as a gentleman, whose conduct, *when there was nothing but that to speak for him or against him*, had acquired their friendship and esteem. The Viceroy assured me, that I should always be well

well received by him, and sent me the key of a neat house, which I immediately occupied ; a few days after which I received the key of a *loge* in the theatre, from the same generous source of benevolence.

The Admiral, knowing how necessary money was to a man in my situation, and suspecting I could not have much left, sent me a handsome sum by the *Major-General da Esquadra*, who, adding as much to it, delivered the whole to me. The Bishop was in nothing behind the others; his house was open to me at all hours, and as it was some distance, he furnished me with a carriage during my stay at *Rio Janeiro*, that I might, to use his own words, with the greater facility come to him, when my engagements would permit.

Those distinctions could not but be as pleasingly flattering to me as they were mortifying to the two Ensigns, who were by this time secluded from every society. Determined to give Minchin the chastisement he so well merited for his duplicity, I placed a centinel on his door to inform me if he should go out ; but the affair I had with his *brother officer*, Prater, at *Rio Grande*, effectually locked his door, and he did not, during his abode in that town, think proper to stir from home. To avoid a similar disgrace, he complained to the Viceroy, demanding protection ;

tion; to this demand, according to some accounts, he received no answer; but, according to others, the Viceroy sent him a brace of good, substantial, holster pistols,—a hint, one would think, sufficient for a soldier. In the mean time, the Admiral became acquainted with the transaction; and Captain Thompson, one morning, came to me, desiring me to promise, that I would not attack Minchin in that country. As my situation was such, that it would neither have been pleasing nor prudent to quarrel with the exalted characters who had so nobly and generously protected me, I readily gave my word, which satisfied them; but Minchin was not so easily persuaded of his safety; he therefore kept close to the house, equally despised by the officers of the fleet, of the army, and the inhabitants of the town.

During our abode at *Rio de Janeiro*, Ensign Minchin and Prater made various applications to the Viceroy, soliciting his Excellency to pay them, for themselves and the soldiers, their full pay, according to the British establishment, from the day of their arrival in that country. The Viceroy declined complying with this request, alledging that he had no authority to grant it; that the trifle he had ordered to be paid to every individual, without distinction of age, sex, or rank, was an act of hospitality, which he had taken

taken on himself in consequence of the harmony which for so long a time had subsisted between our countries, and which never would be charged to the British Government; but if these gentlemen thought they had a claim to further assistance, they must each of them address a petition to the Sovereign, stating their demand, and lodge it at the office of the Tribunal, which represents Majesty in that country, and of which his Excellency the Viceroy is President, and they would determine whether the request should be refused or granted; their petitions were accordingly presented, Minchin signing himself Lieutenant and Adjutant, and demanding to be paid as such. Some days before the meeting of the Tribunal I received a visit from the Secretary, who enquired why I had not already given in my petition; I told him, that having no claim of any kind on the British government, I could not, like the others, petition; that his Excellency the Viceroy knew every thing concerning me, and that if he or the Tribunal, in the name of the Sovereign, thought it proper to present me with such a sum of money as would pay my passage to Europe, I would accept it; but that the eighteen pence per day, which the officers of the New South Wales Corps, men, women, and children, had received, I neither yet had, or ever would touch; that the Viceroy having given me a good house, and the

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generous

generous Admiral furnishing me, from time to time, with the means of supporting that house handsomely, I could dispense with further assistance, and the more so, that I was confident he (the Admiral) would also provide me with a passage in some ship of his fleet to Lisbon. The Secretary desired me to put that answer in writing; I did so, and in a few days it was intimated to all of us, that for the time we had been in the country, the Tribunal would allow nothing more than what the Viceroy had before ordered to be paid, and which I ever refused to take, lest it should be charged to the British Government. Mr. Black likewise declined receiving any allowance of this kind. It was further intimated, that the masters of the merchant ships of the convoy, in which we should be sent to Europe, would be paid for each officer, in advance for five months, at the rate of one cruzade, about half-a-crown per day; and for the soldiers, women, and children, half that sum. The hour of our departure drawing near, the Admiral was pleased to order a passage for me, the boy Richards before-mentioned, whom I had taken under my charge, and my servant, on board her most Faithful Majesty's frigate, the *Ulysses*, commanded by Captain *João da Costa de Cabedo*, one of the most active officers in Europe, and who already did me the honour to count me amongst the number of his friends.

This

This gallant officer refused positively to receive the money allowed by the Tribunal; but as it was a present made in the name of the Queen, and could not be returned, he ordered it to be paid to me,

During our abode at *Rio de Janeiro*, several British ships bound to the South Seas came into that port, when leave having been given to any one of us to embark in any ship in which we could obtain a passage, Mr. Murchison, the Mate, suspecting that the convoy would be delayed long in Brazil, and have a long passage when it did sail, went on board one of them; and about a month afterwards, when we were on the point of going to sea, the Purser entered on board another vessel, also bound to the South Seas. As I had with some trouble prevailed on the mutineers to give that gentleman the ship's charter, and every other paper which he thought could be useful to the widow of the unfortunate Captain, I endeavoured to persuade him to remain with us, because I thought his presence in England would be necessary; and to me it seemed impossible, that a ship bound to the South Seas could reach Europe before a convoy going immediately thither. A young man (James Macleod) who left Britain as a soldier in the New South Wales Corps, but with his discharge in his pocket, a problem which I cannot explain, and one of the *ladies* bound to New South Wales,

went on the same expedition, so that his Excellency, the Viceroy, had four less to provide for.

About the 24th of January last, the fleet being ready to sail, all those belonging to the Lady Shore, myself excepted, were ordered to embark; boats belonging to the Custom-house were provided for them, and an officer charged to conduct them to their respective ships. The boats were drawn up at the landing-place near the Palace, and every one embarked, except Ensign Minchin, who delayed it till the latest moment. I happened to be walking on the wharf at the time, which he perceiving from the window of the room where he had remained shut up so long, and conscious that he merited chastisement from my hand, solicited from the Adjutant-General, and obtained an escort to conduct him to the boat. Accompanied by two fuzileers and a non-commissioned officer, he crossed the parade amidst the bursts of laughter of all who beheld this extraordinary procession.

CHAP. XXIII.

Description of the town of Rio de Janeiro.—Military establishment there.—Uncommonly fine mulatto regiment of militia.—Produce of the country.—Description

scription of the port.—The author sails from thence for Babia de Todos os Santos.—Meets with an honourable reception from the Governor.—Writes to Ensign Minchin.—The effect of his letter.—Minchin requests to be left behind.—Rescues Drummond from an attack made upon him by Prater and some of his companions.—Laughable adventure with a taylor.—Has a fracas with a Portuguese gentleman.—Is attacked by assassins at night time.—Character of the inhabitants of Babia de Todos os Santos.—Description of the place.—The author prevails with the Admiral to allow Minchin to remain behind.—Singular theft on board one of the ships of war.—The fleet sails for Europe, and arrives at Lisbon.

BEFORE I take leave of *Rio de Janiero*, it is incumbent on me to say a few words concerning the place, and also of the Portuguese fleet. The town is well built, busy, considerably large, and surrounded by gentlemen's seats and gardens. The palace is large, commodious, and magnificently furnished; the streets are remarkably well paved, but never lighted; the houses are generally good, but have, for the most part, lattice windows; and there are a prodigious number of rich churches. The vast influx of trade renders some of the inhabitants

extremely opulent; and an air of plenty appears throughout the whole. The amusements are chiefly confined to the opera, for which they have a small theatre; but private societies are very engaging. The people are not, however, so hospitable as in some other places, particularly *Rio Grande*; but they are not morose, and treat their negroes remarkably well, many of whom at an early age are enabled to purchase their freedom.

The women here are by no means patterns of chastity; and those of the class of courtezans are remarkably extravagant in the prices they demand for their favours, twenty and even a hundred half joes being no uncommon present. Among the singularities of the place we may enumerate the frequent, or rather incessant use of baths of tepid water. Whether this gives rise to any peculiar disease I leave to physicians to determine, but two pretty extraordinary ones almost universally prevail here. These are swellings of the legs, which sometimes arrive at vast magnitude, and *hydroceles* of astonishing bulk; both are at times, but not constantly, attended with violent pain, and the latter not unfrequently descends below the knee.

The military establishment of the town of *Rio de Janeiro* consists of two squadrons of very fine dragoons, which serve as a guard to the Viceroy,

Viceroy, two regiments of regulars, and a battalion of artillery, who, though far better in appearance than those in Portugal, are not to be compared to the militia. These consist, besides whites, of a black and a mulatto regiment; and the last, in appearance, exceeds any thing I have seen. At present, however, they are holiday soldiers, and almost without discipline; but a hard campaign or two would, in all probability, make them good troops. It must be remarked, that the mulatto militia are all men of some property, and dress at their own expence; they wear light blue, with red facings, and gay spangle silver lace, which gives them a remarkable showy look.

The reason why the regiments of colour are so much more splendid than the whites is owing to this circumstance; the whites are a promiscuous assemblage of *all* the males, poor and rich, whereas the others consist only of such as are rich enough to have been able to purchase their own freedom; besides, when once free, they, through superior industry, acquire independence much quicker than the others.

The principal produce of the country is cotton, coffee, dyeing woods, sugar, hides, gold, and tobacco. With these they load a hundred and fifty, or two hundred ships, which used to rendezvous yearly at *Bahia de Todos os Santos*,

and from thence continue their voyage to Portugal; but now they are divided into separate squadrons, one of which sails every three months. Besides these articles of commerce, there are a few diamonds; but not so good as the oriental ones, from which chemists assert they differ, in not being inflammable; chrystal is also produced here, of very great bulk and beauty; and furnishes the optician with the very best lense for spectacles. There is likewise a species of cotton, which, from its silky appearance, is called *silk cotton*; but its scarcity excludes it from commerce; and, though it might certainly be raised in any quantity, the laziness of the inhabitants proves an insuperable bar to its cultivation. Fruit is remarkably plentiful here, though not at *Rio Grande*; but, in return, horses are scarce whereas, as has already been seen, there they abound.

The port lies a considerable distance inland; the channel is strongly defended by islands which are well fortified, and is in many places so narrow that a cannon-shot will reach across; in short, if well defended, I deem it impossible for an enemy to enter it.

The harbour is large enough to hold all the ships in Europe; and in it, opposite to the town, is a large island, called *Ilha de los Cobras*, which serves for a state prison; the fortifications upon it are
of

of considerable strength, and might be made impregnable; the passage from hence to the town is allowed to one ferry-boat only, and it is besides guarded by soldiers. No access is allowed to strangers, though some of our enterprising Englishmen, with their usual ingenuity, contrived to visit it *according to law*.

I did not embark for some days after the rest. As I had now lost my friend Black, our company was reduced to myself, the boy Richards, and my servant. I the more lamented his departure since, on account of his skill in navigation, he was highly esteemed by all the Portuguese Officers, particularly by Captain Thompson and the *Chevalier de Drocourt*, Captain in that navy, a Commander of the order of Malta, and late Aid-de-Camp to the celebrated Count d'Estaing. From what these gentlemen said, I am convinced that he might have obtained very rapid promotion in the Portuguese service, if his inclination had led him to stay there.

I embarked on board her Majesty's ship the *Ulysses*, on the first of February, and sailed the same day, with a squadron of ships of war, commanded by Rear Admiral *Francisco de Paula Leite*, and the convoy, though we did not arrive at *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, till the third of April. Notwithstanding our tedious passage, we reached our port eleven days before,

fore the convoy; this quicker dispatch was owing to our having met with the misfortune of running down one of the merchant ships at sea, which we were obliged to escort to the place of her destination without delay.

From the day of my arrival the Governor had given me a house, and a general invitation to his table; acts of politeness which I had uniformly received during my journey. With the rest of the convoy, Ensign Minchin arrived, and as I now considered myself absolved from the promise I had made of not attacking him in *Rio de Janeiro*, I did every thing in my power to induce him to give me a meeting. Unwilling that he should disgrace the name of a British officer, I imagined that the readiest way to induce him to think of his situation was to paint its horrors out to him. I accordingly wrote him the following letter:

“ SIR,

“ FLATTERING myself with a hope
“ that the time you have had for reflection,
“ and that the forlorn state into which the black
“ ingratitude of your conduct to me has plunged you, will have convinced you of your
“ error, I again solicit you to do away, in as
“ much as you can, the injury which you attempted to do me at the very moment in
“ which

" which I protected you from insult, and ren-
 " dered you various services. Wearing, as you
 " do, the uniform of a crown to which I am
 " and ever shall be devoted, I could wish at
 " least that you would support the reputation
 " of a man.

" You cannot have forgot, while you lived
 " with me in the habits of intimacy, while you
 " courted my society and my advice, and while
 " you entrenched yourself behind me from dan-
 " ger, you dared secretly to aim at my destruc-
 " tion, and to contradict papers which you had
 " before signed. The gallant officer, (Philip
 " Hancorne, Esq. Major-General of the Es-
 " quadra,) to whom you addressed yourself, as
 " well as the Commanding Admiral, to whom
 " he reported the tale you basely told, FOR
 " THAT ACT held you in detestation, and
 " neither of them would see you more; even
 " the Viceroy of Brazil, equally unacquainted
 " with yourself or me, so perfectly despised the
 " treason you committed, that he loaded me
 " with acts of kindness and distinction, while
 " he left you and Mrs. Minchin to lodge with
 " the interpreter, and to eat at the same table
 " with a woman common to the whole race of
 " man.

" Let me call to your recollection, Sir, that
 " you are of a nation, (Ireland,) whose sons
 " are

" are distinguished for courage; draw not on
 " them a disgrace to which they will be very
 " sensible, and which will make them execrate
 " all who bear your name: be gallant then for
 " once, and give me the meeting to which I
 " have so just a claim. The more to induce
 " you to comply with my request, I promise,
 " by every thing sacred, that if you give me
 " a rendezvous, from that moment, on my
 " part, all animosity shall cease; but if you
 " continue to refuse to see me, and to screen
 " yourself from my just vengeance, by shutting
 " yourself up as you did at Rio de Janeiro, I
 " will expose you by every possible means on
 " your return to Europe. If it is the fear of
 " offending the laws of the country, or any
 " other etiquette, that prevents you from ac-
 " cepting the arrangement, still the business
 " may be done, and the guilt, (if there is any,)
 " attach to me alone; you have only to ap-
 " pear publicly; I will attack wherever I see
 " you, were it even at the right hand of God!
 " Surely you may defend yourself.

" I am, Sir,

" Your obedient humble servant,

" J. G. S. LISLE."

" *St. Salvador Lodiéra de Misericorde,*
 9th APRIL, 1798.

" *Ensign Minchin, on board the Invincible.*"

The

The receipt of this epistle, far from rousing him to vindicate his honour, only induced him to confine himself as closely to his ship, as he had done to his lodgings at *Rio de Janeiro*; nor did I ever see him till we were on the point of sailing. He then sent the Master of the vessel, in which he was, to our Rear-Admiral *Francisco de Paula Leite*, to solicit his leave to remain behind; his pretence being that he was so afflicted with the scurvy that his life would be endangered by pursuing his voyage.

During our stay at *Bahia* I principally spent my time with the military, or at the house of an eminent merchant named Lisboa, a gentleman whose doors are open to every stranger of decent appearance; and where there is at all times a large and good society. I likewise frequently saw the Count Barbasini, Governor of the province of *Minas*, so called from the mines there, who, with his lady and family, had come in the Admiral's ship from *Rio de Janeiro*. To this nobleman the Governor gave frequent *fetes*, to all which I had the honour of being invited; in short, the utmost harmony subsisted between them, for both were accomplished literary characters. With them I too assisted at a very grand ceremony performed annually here, upon a holiday whose name I have forgotten. On that day the Governor, attended by all the principal

principal nobility, visits all the churches; when such was the profusion of riches I saw, that even in a country where gold and diamonds are the natural produce of the soil, I should hardly have thought such quantities could have been collected in one place, and for one purpose, that of adorning the images in the churches.

Every where as I walked through the streets the strong and lusty appearance of the negroes forcibly struck me. I learnt that they came from a part of Africa different from those usually imported; and that their treatment far exceeded even what they received at *Rio de Janeiro*.

Mr. Drummond had taken his passage in one of the merchant vessels of the convoy; and on his arrival I found that he was very indifferently situated both in point of accommodations and provisions. I therefore, having obtained the Governor's permission for him to remain on shore, invited him to my house, and he resided with me during my stay. Having a spare apartment, I gave it to a soldier, whose conduct had been more to my satisfaction than any of his comrades, and whose wife, a decent woman, and whose infant child seemed almost worn out with remaining so long on board.

While we were here, Prater prevailed on some person to advance him about twenty pounds.

Drummond

Drummond, hearing this, thought it the best time to recover a trifling debt the other owed him; he accordingly went to a billiard-room, where he was, with some masters of merchant-men, to demand the money, and a squabble ensued. It was about sunset, and I was taking my evening's walk, when passing the door of the house, I heard a noise, and could easily distinguish the voices of Drummond and Prater. I looked in, and saw Prater, with a rabble of his companions, all beating Drummond with *queues* and other weapons, and endeavouring to drive him down stairs; while the master of the house, a little dwarfish fellow, attacked him with a sword. I immediately assailed this burlesque imitation of man, and giving him a hearty kick in the belly, disarmed him; I then attacked the other combatants, and without loss of time, or distinction of persons, cleared the place of them, and rescued Mr. Drummond: The guard having been called upon by the inhabitants of the house, I told them to return, and to inform their Captain that I should myself call upon him, and explain the business; I went in a little time, and was thanked for my pains.

Another laughable adventure befel me here; a taylor whom I had employed to do some work for me, had delayed so long, that I was apprehensive lest we might be called upon to embark
before

before he had done. I in vain spoke to him; till at length I sent the boy Richards to bring the cloth, finished or not, which he did, without delay, to the great displeasure of the taylor. Next morning early, before I was out of bed, the taylor came to desire I would let him finish the things; and, as I spoke to him rather sharply about his neglect, he took upon himself to give me a great deal of abuse. Enraged at being disturbed by such language from such a visitant, I jumped out of bed, seized a cane, and made after the offender, who fled with great nimbleness into the street, whither, with nothing on but a pair of slippers, I pursued him. The chace was long; for though he was never quite out of my reach, I was not able to get a blow at him; at length he found shelter, and I, for the first time during the pursuit, recollected that I was naked. I need hardly add that my retreat was as speedy as I could make it.

These trifling adventures I should not have thought worth relating, were it not, as will hereafter be seen, that they led to serious consequences, though I may chiefly attribute many unpleasant things to an affair which I yet know not how I could have avoided. It was as follows:

At a route given at a gentleman's house, where were present all the officers and inhabitants

tants of distinction, a conversation was introduced about the invasion of England then threatened by the French. A Colonel of infantry enquired of the *Chevalier de Drocourt* what was his opinion of the probable success of such a plan, supposing the attempt to be made; the Chevalier replied, that the superiority of the British fleet would baffle any attempt of that nature; besides, should any accident enable them to land, they would find a very warm reception, for that, independent of the troops of the line, there was an immense body of militia, fencibles, and volunteers, which altogether formed one of the finest armies in the world. A gentleman who stood near us, and whom I had never seen before, immediately said, in Portuguese, "The English troops are worth nothing! nothing!!!"

Such a declaration in the presence of a man whom he knew to be a Briton, was, to say no worse of it, indecent, and such as I could not pass without notice; but there being not only a great number of ladies in the room, but the Admiral under whom I sailed, besides some other General Officers, I was obliged to suspend my vengeance for a few moments. Had I taken the advice of some of my friends I had let the affront pass with impunity, as the gentleman was the *protegé* of one of the Ministers at Lisbon.

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I very soon, however, found an opportunity to give him all the mortification such insolence deserved ; but, though my conduct on this occasion was generally applauded, some of those highest in rank felt themselves displeased. They were hurt that I should dare to reduce a Portuguese gentleman to such a state of humility ; and though the Rear-Admiral never noticed the business to me, I learnt that he was highly displeased. He even took the advantage of his privileged situation, and behaved on another occasion with a rudeness that should not long have gone without the chastisement it merited, had not prudence prevented me. I however hinted to him that on our arrival in the Tagus, where we should once more be upon an equal footing, I would speak to him in a plain and effectual language.

The first serious inconvenience my imprudence brought upon me, was an attack with an intention to murder. The plan was not so privately laid but that it came to the knowledge of Mr. Drummond and my servant ; by him it was communicated to me. At first I treated it as a trifle ; but one night Drummond having been followed by mistake for me, I looked upon it in another light. In this country the negroes are the assassins, and in the execution of their hellish business they strip themselves naked, they

they then furround their victim, and from some of them he seldom fails to receive a mortal wound. The villains are sure to escape, for such is their activity and the lubricity of their skins from the oil with which they besmear themselves, that it is next to impossible to lay hold of them.

It happened one evening after the intimation had been given me of their design, that I was going to visit a lady, and that I might at least have one assistant at hand, Mr. Drummond accompanied me. When I arrived at her door he left me, and I went in. In a moment the lady, with the utmost earnestness, intreated me to be going, as her house was beset by assassins, whom she suspected were looking for me. I ran to the balcony, hoping that Drummond might not be gone very far; I called to him, but in vain; I therefore immediately departed with my sword under my left arm, but not drawn. I walked for safety in the middle of the street, and was within a few yards of home when just as I was entering the street where I lived, called *The Ladeira de Misericorde*, on a sudden I beheld some negroes gathering round me. I put myself in a posture of defence, and endeavoured to gain a wall, but before I could effect my purpose, a negroe came behind and gave me a slight wound. Mr. Drummond,

who had not yet got home, hearing the noise, came to my assistance, but I had already dispersed the assassins. Fortunately my wound was so slight as not even to confine me to my house, nor had my enemies the pleasure of knowing that I was hurt.

Here among other advantages I met with the Governor General of *Angola*, a man beloved wherever he is known; he was on his return from Africa to Lisbon, and had come to *Babia de Todos os Santos*, that he might be under the protection of the convoy. This amiable General had in his suite Dr. *Azeredo*, a native of *Rio de Janeiro*, who, with his brother, had some few years before studied physic at Edinburgh; the first two Brazilians who have ever been educated at a college in Scotland.

The inhabitants of *Babia* are exceedingly hospitable, remarkably gay, and passionately addicted to gambling; they dress with more taste and richness than in any town I had seen; their linen is, as I have observed of *Rio Grande*, peculiarly fine and white. They live in a most sociable and pleasant manner, but whenever they meet, cards are introduced as a matter indispensable. Some very sumptuous dinners are given, and at every table the greatest variety of sweetmeats are served; this is the more easily done, as there sugar is equally cheap and good,
and

and their fruits not less abundant than delicious.

The town stands on the declivity of a hill so steep that the communication between the upper and lower part is difficult. The lower part is busy, full of warehouses and shops; it is reckoned very unhealthy, and therefore the elegance of the place is chiefly to be seen in the upper part. There is a neat but small dock-yard, where ships of every sort are excellently well built; in particular most of the ships employed in the Brazil trade are built here or at *Rio de Janeiro*. The view of the bay from the town is beautiful, and at the back upon the height is an indifferent fort, once taken by the Dutch, and kept by them for some short time. The adjacent country is charmingly laid out in cultivation and gardens, among which a great number of elegant country-seats arise, and give an air of gaiety and population to the scene.

Minchin, notwithstanding his *prudence*, one day fell in my way, and had certainly no great reason to boast of his good fortune; notwithstanding, when the Rear-Admiral refused to listen to his request of staying behind, he made application to me. I took Dr. *Azeredo* to visit him, and though he declared that his case was no way dangerous, I prevailed with the Admiral to grant him permission to stay.

The *Princessa da Beira*, a line-of-battle ship, commanded by Commodore *Diego da Piva*, and belonging to our Squadron, sprung a leak, when we were about to put to sea, this circumstance delayed us a considerable time, for the leak being near her keel, every thing was obliged to be taken out, an event fortunate for the Court of Portugal and our Commodore. On moving a chest of gold, of which there were three on board of immense value, it was discovered to have been broke into, and on examining, some inconsiderable part was missing. Had it not been for the circumstance of the leak, this chest, in all probability, would have arrived at Lisbon empty.

Some little time before our departure from *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, while I was confined to my house by indisposition, a Portuguese ship from Bengal bound to Lisbon arrived in that harbour, on board of which came a passenger, Mr. Stewart. The officers of the fleet who went on board that ship as she came into port, mentioned my name to him, and that I was in town; they, as himself told me, spoke so handsomely of me that he felt a desire to see me. He landed the same day, and went to the house of an eminent merchant (Mr. Lisboa,) where I was particularly intimate; he enquired after me in that house, and every individual of the family

family said so much in my favour, that his wish to see me increased. It happened that while they were talking on my subject I sent a messenger there on some business, and Mr. Stewart being informed of it, directed my messenger to tell me, that if I was able to come out he would be glad that I would dine at Mr. Lisboa's; that it would give him pleasure to be of service to me, and he would furnish me with any money I might have occasion for. I sent a servant back to tell him, that I would certainly dine where he was, and that had I been dressed I would then have paid him a visit; upon this he came with my servant to me, and in person repeated the message he had before sent. As I was no more within the reach of the good Admiral Antonio Januario de Valle, and having, on account of my long and unexpected detention here occasion for a few guineas, I accepted from Mr. Stewart the loan of about twenty pounds. This money he lent me, and would have lent me as much more, merely from the reputation which my conduct, during the eight months which I had been in Brazil, had acquired me.

In the mean time a packet arrived from *Rio de Janeiro* on her way to Europe, and by her I wrote a detailed account of the mutiny on board the *Lady Shore* to his Grace of Portland, promising

misgiving to attend his commands at Lisbon. The letter was enclosed to his Excellency the British Envoy at that place, to whom I proposed to surrender, and was by him forwarded to the Duke.

Mr. Stewart had been introduced by me to the Governor-General, from whom I now solicited a passage for him and myself in the packet, which we both much wished for, to avoid the delays naturally incident to a convoy. But owing to some vague reports brought from India by the ship in which Mr. Stewart came, respecting a probability of hostilities between Britain and Portugal, our request was refused. His Excellency having been much irritated by some vexatious circumstances which had just occurred, expressed his disapprobation of my request in somewhat violent terms; these I was rash enough to resent in a manner that might have occasioned an irreparable breach with a less amiable character; but that excellent nobleman, whose resentment never extended beyond the moment of heat, not only forgave me, but that very evening invited me to his box in the theatre.

After Mr. Stewart's apparently generous conduct, I naturally held him in some estimation, thinking that I also possessed his good opinion, but some one, I know not who, having acquainted

quainted him with my disgrace in England, he so conducted himself, that if we had not immediately failed he would have had some cause to repent his illiberality.

Such was the return he made for my having embroiled myself with my best friend, the Governor General! This was the man, my complaisance for whom tempted me to throw myself into a position of resistance against the representative, the kinsman of Majesty! and when anger, at the indignities offered me by this oriental mushroom, extorted from me a letter the dictates of passion! *this* was the man who could coolly send it to the Intendant of Police in Portugal, from whom I afterwards received it among other papers.

If it may be allowed a man who has seen almost all the world, and been an attentive observer of what he has seen, to judge, Brazil is the richest country in the world; for though some may more abound in particular commodities, none produces in such plenty every thing necessary for life. Of the articles usually exported I have already spoken; but in my excursions into the country (and the Portuguese allow that no European ever saw so much of it,) I found it vastly richer than I expected. The best and most various kinds of timber abound here, and of these I carefully collected and preserved

served samples. Those used for furniture and ship-building are very hard and durable; and the opinion of the best informed Portuguese is, that without arrogating any superiority of valour and seamanship to their sailors, no British ship could cope with one of theirs of equal force, owing to the superior strength of the timber; in this opinion I, however, do not coincide with them.

On or about the 1st of June we sailed from Brazil with a convoy of one hundred and fifteen sail, most of them very large ships; and after a tedious passage, during which nothing material occurred, we reached the river Tagus on the 9th September, 1798. On entering the harbour, and before I disembarked, an opportunity offering, I dispatched a second letter to the Duke of Portland, recapitulating what I had before written, concerning the mutiny, and mentioning my intention of awaiting his Grace's commands at Lisbon.

CHAP. XXIV.

The author arrives at Lisbon, writes to the Ministers, and offers to surrender himself.—Is arrested.—Applies to the Consul-General for Madeira, who can obtain no satisfactory answer from the Intendant of Police

Police.—He learns at length that his confinement is owing to the quarrels in Brazil—Is suddenly removed at midnight to a house at Belem.—Is sent on board a ship.—Some account of the city of Lisbon, and of the manners of the Portuguese.—The Portuguese army miserably bad.—The author sails for Gibraltar.—Unable to reach that port, they make Tangier.—With a Lieutenant and some of the people of the Dorothea, the author gains Gibraltar.—The narrow escape of Captain Grey and his lady.

THE moment I arrived in the *Tagus*, I wrote to the British Minister at Lisbon, apprising him of my arrival, and that I was come with the intention of surrendering myself to him, begging him, at the same time, to appoint an hour when I might have the honour of waiting upon him. He returned me a polite answer, and pursuant to my request fixed an hour for my visit. He received me with much civility, and on my repeating my offer to surrender, declined taking charge of me; he told me, that he had received my dispatch, which he had forwarded, but had not yet been informed of any determination of his Court on my subject, and that this was an affair too delicate for him to interfere in without positive instructions.

I now

I now felt the ill effects of the broils I had imprudently engaged in before I left Brazil; though I could hardly have imagined that *gentlemen* would have taken vengeance in such a manner. When I parted from the British Envoy I went and presented my letters of recommendation to such of the Portuguese Ministers as they were addressed; I then went to a hotel, to which I had been recommended, intending to take up my residence there till the determination of the British Court should be known. I had been in Lisbon only a few days when I was desired to go to the dock-yard, where I was told that the Commissioner (a Rear-Admiral) wanted me. I attended as I was directed, and to my great surprise was told, that at the instance of the Minister of Marine and the British Envoy I was to be sent to the *Castello de St. Jorge*, where, however, I was to be treated in every respect as a gentleman.

This intelligence could not but excite my surprise; I had not long left Mr. Walpole, who seemed very differently disposed, and I was not less conscious of having done nothing that could merit such treatment from the Government of Portugal; I nevertheless obeyed the order, though I could not reconcile the idea that Mr. Walpole, after what he had said to me, should have demanded my arrestation. In this state
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of uneasiness and suspense I addressed myself to Charles Murray, Esq. Consul-General from his Britannic Majesty at the Madeiras, a man whose reputation for benevolence, and whose consequence in the world pointed him out to me as the most likely person to obtain an account of the true cause of my imprisonment.

In the mean time my servant and little Richards learnt my situation, when the former fled for fear; but the latter, though in a strange country, and under fifteen years of age, delivered himself up, and desired to share my confinement. He was accordingly sent to the *Castello de St. Jorge*, but with a positive injunction to be kept apart from me, and orders were at the same time given, that I should not be informed of his imprisonment. I, however, immediately became acquainted with it, and sent for the Governor, who, at my earnest request, allowed him the range of the castle, on my promise to hold no communication with him.

A sufficiently plentiful table was found for me, and my lodgings were extremely good, but for above a week I could not obtain my baggage: At length my trunks were sent to me, and, to my great surprise, without having passed any examination though they contained many papers, yet a few immaterial ones
which

which laid loose in a bureau belonging to the hotel where I lodged were eagerly seized and transmitted to *Manique*, the Intendant-General of the Police. I applied to every one I could think of to learn what was the cause of my imprisonment, and was told by all that it was at the request of Mr. Walpole and the *Minister of the Marine* of Portugal ; in a few days, however, I received from the humane Mr. Murray a letter in answer to that I have already mentioned to have sent him, of which the following is an extract :

LISBON, SEPTEMBER 18th, 1792.

“ ——— As it appeared to me that
“ at present, you are hardly, nay unjustly dealt
“ by, being imprisoned here, without having
“ committed any crime against the laws of this
“ country, and without even being told the
“ reason of your commitment, I resolved to
“ comply with your request, I endeavoured to
“ find out the cause of that extraordinary proceeding, for your information.

“ To this purpose I called first on Mr. Walpole, his Majesty’s Envoy at this court, and
“ had I found that it was at his desire, I should
“ have asked no further questions ; but his
“ Secretary assured me, (for Mr. Walpole
“ was

“ was in the country,) that it was not; that
“ you had been with Mr. Walpole soon after
“ your arrival from Brazil, offering to deliver
“ yourself up to him to be sent home to Eng-
“ land, but that he, having no orders from
“ home concerning you, had declined taking
“ charge of you; all which the Envoy himself
“ has since confirmed to me.

“ I next went to the Consul-General’s office,
“ and spoke to the Secretary there; Mr. God-
“ dard the Consul, being at present in England,
“ who also assured me that nothing had ema-
“ nated from that office tending to induce your
“ imprisonment; judging therefore that it must
“ have proceeded from the Government of
“ this country, and having some business with
“ his Excellency, *Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho*,
“ Secretary of State for the marine, and fo-
“ reign dominions, in whose department cog-
“ nizance is taken of all transactions from the
“ Brazils, I called upon him the next mor-
“ ning, and took occasion to mention your si-
“ tuation to him. He assured me that her
“ Majesty had given no order whatever con-
“ cerning you; that no complaint had come
“ from the Brazils to this government against
“ you, so that he supposed your confinement
“ must proceed from some insinuation of the
“ British Minister; I assured him that was not
the

“ the case; then, said he, it must be merely an
“ official affair of the Intendant of the Police,
“ in which the Government takes no part.
“ Being acquainted with Mr. Manique, the
“ Intendant, I spoke to him on the subject, but
“ could get no satisfactory answer as to the
“ immediate cause of your imprisonment. ”

This letter at once opened my eyes, and as I had been sent to the *Castello* by the Commissioner of the dock-yard, I entertained very little doubt but that the whole had been a manœuvre of the gallant Rear-Admiral *Francisco de Paula Leite*, to prevent me from calling him to account for his conduct at *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, which he perfectly well knew to be my intention. Among others, I applied to Major General *Gomez Frere d'Andrade*, a very distinguished soldier, who had served in Russia with much reputation, and is of one of the most noble families in Portugal; he represented my case to the Intendant, and solicited my discharge.

His Majesty's Envoy, Mr. Murray, Mr. Crispin, the Pro-Consul, also used their utmost exertions to ascertain the cause of my arrest, but they were not able to learn any thing positive: however, after much solicitation, the Intendant, ashamed I suppose of his conduct, consented that little Richards should be lodged in
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the same apartments which were allotted to me. About the same time he likewise gave me up my papers, and among them, by mistake, as I imagine, the individual letter I had wrote to Mr. Stewart in *Bahia de Todos os Santos*.

At length, after much solicitation, he avowed that the cause of my confinement was the violence of my behaviour in Brazil, and recapitulated, with great accuracy, the actions I have already related; he further declared, that it was to *prevent my doing mischief* that he could not consent to my being at liberty; but that I should have no reason to complain of my treatment, and whenever Mr. Walpole chose to send me away, that I should have immediate permission to depart.

During my imprisonment I had represented my case to the Duke of Portland, and desired of him that I might be claimed: I likewise should imagine that Mr. Walpole did the same; but before an answer could be received, *Manique*, the Intendant of Police, prevented my receiving any benefit from the Court of London. Perceiving, as he might easily do, that the number of my friends increased, and that it was probable my case might be properly represented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Brazil, with the support of a very powerful interest, he thought proper, without a moment's

notice, to remove me from the *Castello de St. Jorge*.

On the 5th of November, about twelve at night, as I was undressing, I was waited upon by two persons belonging to *Manique's* office; they told me they were going to conduct me, at Mr. Walpole's request, on board a ship which was already down the river, and would sail with the morning's tide for a *British* port. I received this intimation with the greatest pleasure; I hurried on my cloths, and in a moment was ready to attend them. Two of the chaises of the country were at the door, my baggage was fixed; *Manique's* secretary got into the carriage with me, one of his domestics into the chaise with Richards, and we set out. We were conducted to the lower end of *Belem*, about two leagues distant from the Castle, and arrived there about three in the morning; I was carried to the house of M.^r *Joaquim Jozè de Abreu*, Surveyor of the Customs, who received me with great civility. He told me at first, that in the course of an hour or two the fleet with which I was to sail would drop down the river; but after I had waited with him till day-light, he altered his tone, and told me that the fleet would not probably sail for a day or two; but rather than I should return, he would accommodate me for that time with apartments in his house,

house, provided I would promise to take no advantage of his confidence, but remain quietly in the rooms he should assign me. In reply I assured him, that he had nothing to apprehend from me, as no event could give me so much pleasure as leaving a country where a wretch like *Manique* was an absolute sovereign, and suffered to exercise his tyranny on any one who had not the good fortune to please him in all his caprices; it was not, therefore, into such a country, but out of it, that I might be expected to fly.

I was immediately shewn into a suite of apartments, small, but very handsome; these were, for the present, to be my prison, and I was served in a style of elegance which astonished me. I desired leave to write his Britannic Majesty's Envoy, in whose possession I had left some papers absolutely necessary; for the same reason I desired likewise to write to Mr. Murray, his Majesty's Consul-General for Madeira, of whose kindness to me I have before made mention. Paper, pens, and ink, being brought to me, I wrote the letters, and committed them to the care of my entertainer; he told me he must send them to *Manique*, who, he made no doubt, would forward them according to my desire.

I had passed about eight days under this gentleman's hospitable roof, receiving every day marks of politeness and attention, which rendered my abode very pleasant, but without hearing from Mr. Walpole or Mr. Murray. That they had been sent to Manique, the perpetual good offices I was daily experiencing left me no room to doubt; but the Intendant I knew to be capable of any act of cruelty or meanness; I therefore concluded that he had suppressed them, and that Mr. Walpole was as unacquainted with my removal as he had been with my arrest, to which they had prostituted his name; nor was I without suspicions that they had now recurred to the same impudent project.

While these reflections occupied my mind I was suddenly informed that the fleet was dropping down, and that I must prepare to embark; I needed very little preparation, and in a few minutes was ready. My kind landlord gave me a list of the stores he had laid in for me, which were more than sufficient for a much longer voyage than that I was about to take; then putting a passport into my hand, he informed me, that as there was no ships going to England for some time, *Manique* had directed him to put me on board one of the convoy going to Gibraltar. He assured me, as was the fact,

fact, that the accommodation provided for me was extremely good; that the passage was paid, and that the master of the ship was directed to put me on board any vessel we might meet at sea bound for the British Channel. This excellent man added, "As you have neither heard from Mr. Walpole nor Mr. Murray during the time you were at my house, it is possible you may be unprovided with money sufficient for your present use, I will therefore advance you any sum I can afford." I took a few pounds, and gave him a line to Mr. Murray, who, with his usual goodness, immediately repaid M. *De Abreu*.

I now went on board. The convoy was under sail, and I never in my life felt more happiness than at quitting a country where men may be deprived of liberty without being told why, without having committed any crime, and without being permitted to vindicate themselves. My disputes in Brazil came not within the cognizance of an Intendant of Police of Lisbon; the government of that country administers the justice of it, and to the Governor belonged the power of punishing me if I had merited punishment; but that he had made no complaint is evident from the declaration of the Minister of the Marine and Transmarine Department to Mr. Murray, an extract of whose

letter to me has been already given. As *Manique* knew nothing of me, it should seem that some *weighty* arguments had been made use of to him by some of those *gentlemen* I had offended in Brazil, and who there made an attempt to assassinate me. Whether he who had the politeness to declare to my face that "the English troops were good for nothing!" and had learnt that I did not suffer such insolence to pass with impunity, joined his mite of influence to injure me, he must determine.

The air and climate of Portugal are well known for their salubrity and pleasantness, the weather being seldom inconveniently hot in summer, nor is the winter ever so cold as to require the use of fires, so that hardly such a thing as a fire-place is seen. The inhabitants are so intolerably lazy, that it is no unusual matter to see a parcel of lusty fellows sitting on the ground picking the vermin off each other; and their superstition surpasses all imagination. The churches here are numerous and fine; in that of St. Antonio they shew a stone in which the holy man, as they believe, made the figure of the cross with his finger: the marks of the chizzel are not, however, so totally obliterated but that the imposture strikes the most superficial observer.

Portugal

Portugal formerly was famous for its enterprising navigators, but of late their spirit seems nearly extinct. Literature never was at a high pitch in this country; a few poets were formerly found here, among whom *Camoens* bears the greatest reputation; but for works of wit and humour we may in vain look among the literary archives of Portugal. This seems to be principally owing to the busy interference of the church, which eternally is endeavouring to smell out heresy or impiety; and as few priests can take a jest, a writer who dared to make the world laugh, would stand in an awkward predicament. The same consciousness of importance tempts them to intrude spies into every private family, a practice that has not a little contributed to the reserve and gloom that seems to pervade every house. Their habitual laziness is also another cause of their jealousy, for many of the ancient nobility being extremely poor, were out-done in point of appearance by the merchants, whose origin nobody knew; they affected reserve, and pretended to despise those whom they had not the energy to imitate. The peasantry, too, are such servile dependants on the will of the lords, that their daughters, if handsome, were almost sure to fall victims to the lust of the young nobility; and I should suppose that these youthful debauchees, not

stopping at these low intrigues, would soon invade the females of superior rank, which would be a sufficient caution to fathers and husbands, whose youth had been spent in similar exploits, to trust more to locks and bolts than to male continence and female chastity.

There are several theatres in Lisbon, one of which is very fine, but no women are allowed to perform on the stage; to supply their want they employ the most delicate boys and young men, who, at the distance of the boxes, are not to be distinguished from women. This custom may possibly have given rise to an abominable vice, which is shockingly frequent here.

There is a dock-yard which is said to be very good, but I never saw it, except when I was weak enough to go there through the contrivance of *Manique*; but certainly the ships built there are extremely handsome *while new*. When they have been at sea a few years they, however, lose their shape, and become what the sailors call *bogged*, that is, instead of forming a beautiful curve, lowest in the middle and higher at the stem and stern; the ends fall and the middle rises, so as to resemble, in some degree, the back of a hog. This defect I have heard attributed, with what justice I know not, to the enormous weight of their guns; for though their iron is so much better than ours, that,
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from the hammer marks I have seen upon new guns, I have reason to believe that they are hammered after they are cast, and they far surpass in weight British pieces of equal calibre; I think I do not exceed the truth when I estimate the difference of weight at one fourth.

The Portuguese sailors are by all nations allowed to be expert in their occupation; those that I saw in the whole squadron, and particularly aboard her most Faithful Majesty's ship the *Ulysses*, were fine stout young men; remarkably quiet and orderly. Their pay is good, and they are perfectly happy in their situation, to which the greatest attention is paid by their officers, several of whom are every way qualified for supporting their rank with mildness, firmness, judgment, and dignity. Far different is the condition of their land forces. The only regiments I saw that were at all fit for service were two of infantry; one was that which still bears the name of La Lippe, the celebrated Field-Marshal and Captain-General of Portugal; the other was that of *Gomez Frere d'Andrade*, which is still better, and of its commander I may with propriety say, that no service can boast of a more able officer. The other regiments of infantry that I saw were miserable in every respect, and only exceeded in point of wretchedness by the cavalry, whose appearance,

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in fact, would rather require Hogarth's pencil than my pen to convey an adequate idea of them. The enormous long swords of this grotesque cavalry add not a little to the general oddity of their look; such is the length of these monstrous weapons, that they cannot be drawn at one motion by men of small or even moderate stature. The strait sword is certainly far preferable to the crooked one on every account. The crooked sword being only fit for cutting, deprives the wearer of his best mode of assault, and is, to say no worse of it, a very ineffectual weapon. The strait blade, in order to give it all the advantage of which it is capable, ought to be sharp at the point as well as the edge, of sufficient strength, and *long*; still it must be proportioned to the stature of the man who is to wield it, and not like those of Portugal, so long that the *Cavalier* can neither draw nor return it with ease.

As we passed the bar of Lisbon I perceived that we were under the convoy of his Majesty's ship *Dorothea*, and I seized the opportunity which offered of addressing a few lines to her Commander to acquaint him in what manner I had been placed in one of the ships under his command. In fact, my arrest at Lisbon had become a common subject of conversation there; and many very respectable characters had become

come friends, because I had forced pride to restrain itself within the bounds of good manners; my letter to the Captain of the *Dorothea* was therefore a kind of a marine gazette extraordinary. Our passage was tedious, and the weather unpleasant; our ship sprung the head of her main-mast, which disabled her from carrying sail, and this occasioned us to fall far astern of the rest of the fleet. When we made the mouth of the Gut of Gibraltar, we were unable to follow the convoy through, and consequently steered for Tangier Bay, which we reached in the middle of the night. Soon after day-break, I was astonished to see the *Dorothea's* boat with the Lieutenant and the Purser come along-side; they informed us that when the frigate first made that land, they had gone on shore to buy stock; but the wind becoming more favourable, the frigate and convoy proceeded up the Gut and left them behind. They were in hopes that we were in a condition to venture the passage without convoy, as the wind was fair, and the weather too boisterous to suffer either gun-boats or the small privateers, which swarm there, to attack us: but seeing our disabled state, and that the Master durst not venture to sail without an escort, they returned to the town of Tangier, and I accompanied them. I there found that amiable and hospitable character, Mr. Matra,
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his Majesty's Consul-General for Morocco, and with him we spent that day.

Lieutenant Down, being very apprehensive that the *Dorothea* might sail from Gibraltar up the Mediterranean, determined, (for what will not British seamen do?) to leave the stock he had purchased, and proceed next morning at day-break in his yawl for Gibraltar. I solicited his leave to accompany him, which he granted; but as we were preparing to depart, we perceived his Majesty's ship *El Corso*, with a French privateer, her prize, which had arrived during the night. I immediately suggested to Lieutenant Down, that it might accommodate the Commander of *El Corso*, and perfectly answer our purpose, should we offer to take charge of the prize and carry her to Gibraltar. The Lieutenant approved my plan, and instantly proposed it to the Commander of *El Corso*, who was much pleased to have the means of sending his prize into port without weakening his ship, and readily complied with our request. She was therefore delivered over to Lieutenant Down, with only four men belonging to *El Corso*. These, with the Purser, the nephew of the Vice-Consul, the boat's crew, and myself, made up the whole of his strength; we sailed with a brisk westerly breeze, and in a very few hours we reached the Rock, just as
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the Dorothea and her convoy got in. All the Spanish gun-boats had come out to attack them; the Dorothea had been vigourously assailed, and Captain Grey, who, with his Lady, came passengers in that ship from Lisbon, had nearly lost their lives.

The Dorothea came to an anchor within Europa Point, while the gun-boats kept a heavy and well-directed fire upon her. Captain and Mrs. Grey went into one of the barges to land, and just as they pushed off from the ship, one of the top-masts was shot away and fell so near the boat that it almost sunk her; they however reached the shore in safety, though completely drenched.

CHAP. XXV.

The author arrives safe at Gibraltar.—Is arrested on account of the discovery of a conspiracy there.—Discharged from confinement.—Extraordinary exertions of Earl St. Vincent.—The author arrives at Tangier, where he is most kindly treated by the Consul-General.—Resolves to wait there for the Duke of Portland's orders.—Description of Tangier.—Manner of building houses there.—The gaiety

gaiety occasioned by the presence of the Consuls.—Mosques.—Gates of the town.—Abject state of the Jews.—Character of the Moors.—Their funerals.—Moorish troops.—Their arms.—Their horses.—Their cavalry.—Remark on horses' bits.—Their evolutions.—Surprised that any one could perform their manœuvres on a plain saddle.—The Moorish mode of shoeing horses.—The author procures a horse to be shod in the European fashion.—Barbarous manner of fastening horses in the stable.—Manner of travelling in Barbary.

We brought *El Corso's* prize safe into Gibraltar; and as Lieutenant Down went ashore before we came to anchor, I sent a letter by him to General O'Hara, Governor of that garrison. In this letter, which I had prepared at Tangier, when I did not expect so soon to reach Gibraltar, I had explained my situation to that General; I had in fact given him a brief recital of the most material events in which I had been involved since I left England; and this I intended to have sent by the earliest opportunity.

I reached the Rock however in a very unlucky moment; for just before our arrival a plot had been discovered, which was said to have for its object the burning of the arsenal: this occasioned a general alarm; and an order to apprehend all strangers and foreigners; the latter of whom

whom were sent out of the garrison, and such as were able, were compelled to serve on board the fleet. By this judicious manœuvre, the gallant Earl St. Vincent converted the very scum of the earth into useful subjects; proving clearly, that, with a good commander, the worst of materials will make excellent foldiers or sailors, provided discipline and subordination be duly kept up. It is by no means my intention to derogate from the bravery of our British seamen, whose excellent conduct has at all times been a pattern to the world; yet these ruffians, snatched from shops, from stalls, and from suttlings-houses, were made their companions in glory; and proved themselves worthy the honour of fighting by their sides. What they might have done under an officer of a less decided character than Earl St. Vincent is hard to say; but they knew him to be brave, and that to disobey was to die; to his firmness alone, therefore, his country owes those acts of valour performed by this motley assemblage of outcasts.

I shared the fate of other sufferers, and was arrested along with the nephew of the British Vice-Consul, and several others, who like us were about to land. As I had already sent my letter to General O'Hara, I intended to have waited patiently his answer, as in fact the ordinary

nary ceremony of obtaining permission to proceed to land, takes up, even in peaceable times, some hours; but the officers of the navy whom I saw there, informed me that as I was on board one of his Majesty's ships, I was at the disposal of Earl St. Vincent, who must do with me as he should think fit. By them I was told that it was believed that I belonged to the privateer, as I should naturally suppose, from the circumstance of my having been seen upon her deck in an uniform which they did not know; in short, I understand my person was recognized by some one who knew me, but who never dreamt of my being there as one of the persons employed in bringing the prize into port, imagining, on the contrary, that I had joined the enemies of my country.

This news, I was told, had been carried to Earl St. Vincent, who, taking it to be true, was very justly enraged at my supposed treason, and ordered me immediately to be sent in arrest on board his Majesty's ship the Aurora. I was carried thither with the nephew of the Vice-Consul, who, as I before observed, had been arrested in the general confusion; this circumstance afforded me some consolation, for if a man *known*, provided with every necessary passport, and bearing even letters of recommendation to the Governor, could be arrested, it was

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no way astonishing that I should be detained; I therefore maintained my tranquillity pretty well, and was, I must own, not a little diverted at the dismay and consternation of my fellow-prisoner, who, being unpractised in alarms, seemed sufficiently uneasy under this temporary restraint.

When I learnt that it was supposed by all, even by Lord St. Vincent, that I belonged to the privateer, I immediately took the proper steps to clear myself from such a suspicion. Early next morning, Captains Lord William Stewart and Newhouse, of the royal navy, called upon me by the Admiral's command, to enquire how I came there, and what my purpose was; a very short explanation alone was necessary, and all restraint was immediately taken off. Nothing then remained for me but to solicit to be sent to Tangier; this adventure, however, I hold to be fortunate, as it afforded me an opportunity of explaining myself to men so justly the object of public admiration as the Governor and Admiral.

The day following, Earl St. Vincent directed Captain Selby, of his Majesty's ship *Mondovi*, to land me at Tangier. This direction was intimated to me in the morning, at which time the ship was laying with her main-mast out, and all her rigging down; I was ordered to em-

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bark at eleven; and such was the dispatch used to prepare her for sea, that by one o'clock, not more than five hours from the issuing of the orders, we were under way. This was, however, but a trifle, compared with the active exertions of Earl St. Vincent; for more than once, when a crippled prize has been brought in *one tide*, *the very next tide* she has been sent out completely refitted, armed, and manned, a cruizer in the British service.

The attention paid by this great Admiral, and the fatigues he must have necessarily undergone, are astonishing; at the earliest dawn of morning he was seen attending to the business of the dock-yard, where the smallest minutia did not escape his eye; and in the evening, till the utmost glimpse of twilight was obscured, he never quitted the work carrying on there, unless other parts of the service required his presence. He did away the ceremonious formality of going on board and on shore practised by commanders of ships of war; the splendid barge, with its smart crew, were no more seen; a boat of any sort that could be procured, with perhaps a couple of boys to work it, served not only the Captains but the Admiral himself, who found sufficient employ for every hand, without suffering them to throw away their time in empty parade.

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The manner of his watering and refitting the ships that for so long a time blocked up Cadiz, deserves notice. The fleet was at first totally supplied with water brought by transports from Lisbon; this was a tedious and expensive business, but he found the way to diminish it, by sending the ships of war to Gibraltar for a supply. One ship only at a time used to leave the fleet, and proceed for the garrison, where she took in not her own complement of water alone, but as much more as she could; the first fair wind was her signal for sailing, nor would the Admiral admit any excuse for even a moment's delay. On her return, the instant she hove in sight of the fleet, the next in rotation sailed, and the superfluous water was forthwith distributed among those that most wanted a supply. The same strictness and regularity was observed respecting ships that wanted repairs, nor was every trifling deficiency allowed to be an excuse for coming into port; when there, no delay was admitted, the repairs were conducted with surprising rapidity, and the ships quickly resumed their station.

This unusual alertness was extremely harassing to the officers, yet they all admired their indefatigable chieftain, who, like the Great Frederick of Prussia, had the singular fortune to be beloved in proportion to the severity of

the duty he imposed. Nevertheless, a thousand attempts were made to evade services which they thought troublesome, and to elude the vigilance of the Admiral, and a thousand droll adventures were the result; but though they were sometimes successful, he was generally an over-match for them.

On my arrival at Tangier, Mr. Matra, the Consul-General, received me with his usual benevolent kindness, and did every thing in his power to make me forget my distressing circumstances. My earnest wish was to have reached Germany, but the journey was difficult, and my finances required that I should do something to avoid the pressure of want. *Morocco* did not promise any thing very advantageous, and was, besides, a country where a man, accustomed to the elegance of society, could hardly think of an establishment; but excepting *that*, no other country unless Spain, was within my reach; and to serve in a country at war with my own, was to me insupportable. Necessity, therefore, determined my choice; and notwithstanding the ample and honourable provision which Spain would have afforded me, I preferred, without much hesitation, the forlorn hope which Barbary held out. I therefore candidly laid my whole history before the Consul-General, and explained to him the necessity under
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which I lay of looking out for employment somewhere. He, I may venture to say, in common with every one who really knows my case, thought me hardly dealt by, and with a frankness which I very gratefully remember, humanely offered me his good offices.

I determined to write again to his Grace of Portland, before I resolved to fix myself in any situation whatever, making another offer to come forward, not only to clear up the honour and propriety of my own conduct, but to substantiate those charges of scandalous negligence and imbecile want of fortitude in others, which occasioned the unfortunate loss of the Lady Shore. This I conceived to be no more than my duty, since his Majesty's Ministers had already heard from me in the same style, and it was therefore my endeavour to place the mutiny, and the cause of its success, in the clearest point of view, in order that they might not only bring the guilty to condign punishment, but by pointing out where the error had been, enable others to proceed with more safety in future.

In this letter I assured his Grace that I would endeavour to exist where I was, without contracting any obligation; that, in hopes of receiving his commands, I would wait a reasonable time; but if I heard nothing from his Majesty's Ministers, I must, from dire necessity,

accept the first employment that offered, and could no more engage myself to answer their call.

The town of *Tangier* lays in a bay at the mouth of the Gut of *Gibraltar*, in lat $35^{\circ} 43'$ N. long. $5^{\circ} 18'$ W. about fourteen leagues W. S. W. from that garrison. It is sheltered on the north behind that ridge of hills called *Cape Spartel*, which forms the southern side of the entrance into the Gut. The entrance of the bay is commanded by very high land on both sides, and might, with no great labour, be made extremely strong; at present there are no works near it, except a few small batteries, and those only the side next the town. The bay is exposed to different winds, which, besides the badness of the anchorage, render it an unsafe harbour at all times.

The town does not lay at the bottom of the bay, but on the western side of it; it is not very considerable, and is surrounded by a high wall hardly musket-proof. The streets are all, except one, so narrow, that two people can hardly pass each other; and so dirty, that no place I have ever seen, except Lisbon, can bear the least comparison with them; the town is no where regularly paved; but in some places a few stones are laid, as if dropped there by chance. The houses are, for the most part, only one story high,

high, with no windows towards the street, and very few any where else; they are all flat roofed, and, from the badness of the workmanship, the roof is sure to sink in the middle, thereby forming a sort of reservoir for the rain-water, which drops plentifully through, and renders the apartments very damp and disagreeable. Every house, great or small, encloses a quadrangle, where the gloomy master can sit, stupified with opium, smoking his pipe, afraid lest any stranger should get a peep at his women, who, though perhaps objects of jealousy to their husbands, are certainly not objects of temptation to any one who has ever beheld the blaze of British beauty. The entrance into their houses is by a winding passage, which leads into the quadrangle, from whence are the entrances into all the apartments, and I nowhere saw the door of one room lead into another; these doors are large, with two folding flaps, like those of a coach gateway, and in them is a little wicket, scarce big enough for a man to pass in a stooping posture. The apartments are small, and very narrow in proportion to their lengths, being like partitioned spaces taken out of a gallery, and have seldom any light but what they receive from the wicket.

This town is, however, rendered very pleasant, as it is the residence of all the Consuls.

General, whose gay mode of living forms a very striking contrast with that of their gloomy neighbours. Their houses are built and furnished in the European taste, and Mr. Matra's in particular, so very neat and elegant, that I seemed to be in England whenever I entered it. The Consuls live in great splendour, and instead of practising that œconomy which in that place they might readily do, they seem to vie with each other in sumptuous elegance at their dinners, balls, and concerts; this society is further improved by the addition of some French families, who, on account of the war, have removed from Gibraltar to settle here.

Some of the Consuls have country-seats and gardens in the vicinity of the town; the British and the American Consul, Mr. Simpson, have each of them a retreat of this kind, beautifully situated, on the face of the mountain, which forms the entrance of the Gut. The gardens of both, but particularly Mr. Simpson's, who principally resides there, are very well laid out, but the way to them is infamously bad. None but the horses of that country would be able to ascend the mountains; the road requires almost climbing, and the path (especially that which leads to Mr. Simpson's,) is nothing but a channel, worn through the soil of the mountain down to the rock by the winter rains; it is so rough,

rough, steep, and stoney, that it is not less dangerous to descend to the bottom than difficult to ascend to the top.

In Tangier are several mosques, but of their interior I can give no description, it being forbidden to Christians to enter them; and if any one should accidentally stray within their gates, which are always open, he must either instantly submit to circumcision, and become a Mahometan, or his life must pay the forfeit. Some mosques have small courts before them, paved with tiles of different colours, and in the middle is a fountain for the ablutions practised according to the Mahometan ritual. In the interior parts of the country all Christians who pass must take off their hats and shoes, but this being the seat of the Consuls, they are excused the silly ceremony; the Jews are, however, obliged to submit to it in the fullest extent.

The gates of Tangier, and indeed of every other town in Barbary, are shut at sun-set and opened at sun-rise; no interest, no persuasion, can prevail upon them to keep those towards the sea open after the time allotted, or to unbar them a moment earlier.

The Jews are very numerous here, as well as in every other part of Barbary; by them, and through their means, all the trade of the country is carried on; nevertheless they
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are treated in the most barbarous manner. They are the most abject of slaves ; any Moor, even a child, will abuse and strike them whenever he thinks proper ; complaint at best would avail nothing, but probably would draw down upon them new and aggravated insults. Their houses must at all times be open, and the Moors go in when they please. It could not be supposed that these visits were of the most polite kind ; but British urbanity can with difficulty form an idea of the brutalities practised by those savage intruders.

The industry of these oppressed Israelites is astonishing ; patient, persevering, and dexterous, they accumulate fortunes ; and, amidst all their sufferings, they never cease to have in view their sole object, interest ; yet they are for the most part fair traders, and contented with moderate profits. Such is their humiliating state, that even the richest of them are glad to be ranked among the servants of any Christian, whose official situation can afford them protection against the oppressions under which they groan.

They are allowed to have their synagogue ; but whenever the Emperor wants money, he lays them under contribution, sometimes by seizing their place of worship, under pretence that the ground it stands upon is wanted for his service.

service. The late Emperor, who hated the Jews, found another, and a very ingenious way of extorting money from them. The Jewish women, from some motives, probably of religion, wear no colour in their petticoats except green: and, as the surest way of distressing them, this *enlightened Prince* issued a prohibition against that article of dress. His edicts waited no formality; the poor Jewesses must either strip, and the dealers lose the sale of all the stock they had, or make the best terms they could. A sum of money was proposed and accepted; the edict was repealed, and the petticoat again displayed its verdant hue.

The Moors, from their education, and their want of intercourse with strangers, are rude and uncouth in their manners; of society they have no idea; what little conversation they hold with each other is in the open air; and I cannot think that their discourse will abound with wit or erudition. Brutally ignorant, they look upon the Jews and Christians with ineffable contempt; so far indeed do they carry their arrogance, that a Moor, rather than tell either to go out of his way, will ride, or drive his cattle over him. They have, however, some idea of police, for guards are placed in the streets, and every person who walks out after sun-set must have a lantern carried before him. Whenever,
likewise,

likewise, a Christian goes into the country to any distance from the gates of the town, the Governor will not be answerable for any consequences, unless he takes a Moor with him, one of whom he will order to attend the traveller on application being made. I, however, dispensed with this ceremony, and when the Governor sent to tell me that I should take a Moor soldier with me when I went any distance, to prevent insult or ill treatment, I answered, that British dragoons were accustomed to guard others, and not to be guarded themselves, and that I wore a sword, to which I could perfectly trust my own safety.

The funerals of the Moors are conducted in a way sufficiently striking to a stranger; they are followed by a numerous croud, singing in the country fashion; the body is deposited in a sort of bier, and covered over, if a male, with a woollen cloth, called there *al baik*; and the whole machine completely rolled up in it, if a female.

The troops of this country, in their present state, are by no means fit to be opposed to European forces of any description; they have no idea of discipline, and their arms and dress are extremely ill calculated for the purposes of war. Their cavalry is the most numerous and best part of their forces; their horses are excellent
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and abundant every where, though for the road and for carriage of merchandize, the mule and the camel are most used. The Moors are excellent horsemen, and their cavalry, with very little trouble, might be made the finest in the world. The men in general are handsome, of a good size, stout, active, and can endure fatigue and hunger surprisingly well; their horses too, have every quality desirable, so that nothing is wanting but proper arms, harnessing, and training. At present, they wear a sort of loose pantaloons, no stockings, a loose robe, slippers, and spurs with one prodigious long iron spike, which serves at once for neck and for rowel; such indeed is the dress of the whole country. Their arms consist of a very long musket, and a very bad short sword; their saddle has a rising behind, which reaches a considerable height up the back, and another before, but the thigh is no way confined. The stirrup is in the Tartar fashion, as long and as broad as the foot, and the form of the saddle necessarily obliges them to ride with very short stirrups; for if they could not raise themselves much above the seat of the saddle, it would be impossible for them to seat themselves in it.

The bridle is the same as that used by the Tartars in general, and which I have already marked to have excited my astonishment, at finding

finding among the inhabitants of Brazil. It is worthy of remark, that the horses in Barbary, as well as Brazil, are remarkably tender mouthed, contrary to what my English readers would expect; but these powerful bridles keep a horse in awe, and the smallest touch makes him obey, so that there needs not that constant pulling which my countrymen are so fond of. I am aware of the force of prejudice, and that I shall be laughed at by many, when I assert, that a snaffle bit and a tight rein are good for nothing but to spoil a horse; let, however, any one for a moment consider whether any animal can move so briskly when restrained as when all its limbs have their free motion, and then let them say, what will be the effect of the perpetual pulling and sawing of a snaffle bit. Besides, the horse by degrees gets accustomed to this teasing but insignificant bit; a strong pull becomes necessary to check him, and the rider, as is too often the case with Englishmen, considers his bridle as a kind of support to himself. In a word, wherever a powerful bit is used, I have observed the horses to be tender mouthed, and the reverse in those where the snaffle is employed. The only evolution they practise is to form in line of battle, then in subdivisions to advance, with astonishing rapidity, some distance in front of the line; when they have made their career, in full speed,

speed, they in an instant throw their horses on their haunches, and stop as if nailed to the ground; they then fire, and return to the position they left, and this manœuvre they practise so often, that their horses are very soon ruined. They seemed to have no idea that an European could ride with dexterity, unless taught by them, and were much astonished at seeing me, on a smooth saddle, behind them in no feat of horsemanship. They fire with great exactness, but the fire of cavalry never can be made redoubtable; to give, therefore, to a horseman, more than one pistol, is, as I have elsewhere observed, only to encumber him, and to take from his activity.

Their manner of shoeing horses is awkward in the extreme; instead of forming the shoe in the European manner, they make the two heels cross each other, leaving an opening something like a loop before. They cut away the fore part of the hoof as much as they well can, but allow it to spread on the sides, by which means the foot not only becomes unshapely, but it occasions the horse to cut. The shoe is only fixed on with three or four nails on each side of the loops, and the crosses behind are bent up and hammered into the heel.

On my arrival at Tangier, Mr. Matra had given me the privilege of using his horses when
I pleased;

I pleased; I therefore took upon me to put at least one into decent trim. The shoe was the first point that I proceeded to reform; for which purpose having myself made a proper model, I took it to a Moorish blacksmith for his imitation. It is but justice to those artists to say, that they are ingenious; for the man after a few trials, completed a set of very decent shoes, which I then nailed on to shew him the method of doing it. He seemed surprised at my mode of trimming the hoof; however, he soon acquired a competent knowledge, though I had much difficulty in prevailing upon him to fix the shoes sufficiently forward. I fitted up an old saddle of Mr. Matra's, in the huzar style, but the stirrups were lost, nor could I get a pair in all Tangier; I had, therefore, recourse to my ingenious smith, who, by the help of a model, made a pair that would not have disgraced a Birmingham artist. My thus being my own blacksmith, saddler, and farrier, gave the Moors a strange idea of me, as they had hitherto imagined themselves to be the only persons in the world that were capable of managing a horse.

Their stables are likewise a scene of absurdity and cruelty; they do not fasten their horses by the head, but by the fore-legs, with straps, to a chain, which is stretched the whole length of the manger, so that the poor animals cannot
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lay down; if the horse be unruly, he is also fastened by the hinder legs, and I have actually seen a mettlesome stallion (for such are all the horses here) not only fastened by the fore-legs in the usual way, but with one hind-leg fastened, so as to be capable only of moving forward, and the other capable only of moving backward. I have just said that the horses are so fastened that they cannot lay down, but this the Moors consider as no hardship; for they *endeavour* to prevent them from it, under the notion that *a horse that lays down is sick*. Of their horses, however, they are very fond, and none are permitted to be exported, except such as are presents from the Emperor.

Travelling is very inconvenient in Barbary; every person must have a pass, and to make the road any way comfortable, an escort is necessary both for protection and to procure provisions; besides, there are only two short seasons, one in spring, and one in autumn, when travelling is decently practicable; for in winter, the whole country is deluged with rain, and in summer, the ground cracks in such a manner, that a horse is in danger of breaking his legs by stepping into the chinks.

CHAP. XXVI.

Treatment of Christian slaves in Barbary.—The author receives notice of the demand of the British Court for his surrender.—Complies with it, and sails for Gibraltar.—His letter to the Governor, and the answer.—Sails for Lisbon.—Politely received by the British officers there.—Writes to the British Envoy and Mr. Murray, with their answers.—Sails for Portsmouth.—His letter to the Duke of Portland.—Sent for to town.

I REMAINED some time at Tangier, enjoying every amusement that place could afford; I visited the several Consuls, who, notwithstanding any war, always live upon friendly terms, much to the benefit of their several sovereigns, whose affairs would be materially injured by any disagreement, as the Moors would not fail to turn it to their disadvantage. I likewise amused myself with excursions into the country, but these the rain often rendered unpleasant; however, as I wished to see all I could, I disregarded petty inconveniences. One of my principal amusements was the improving of my friend and benefactor, Mr. Matra's horses; and to this I so far devoted myself, that when (as will hereafter be related,) Earl St. Vincent dispatched an officer

officer for me, I was found in the act of shoeing one of them.

I had one day an opportunity of knowing the treatment of the European slaves from their own mouths. Walking on the beach with an officer of the navy, we saw some of these captives, one of whom addressed himself to me in German; he informed me that they were *Lubekers* and *Hamburgese*, and had been some time in slavery. Their treatment does not, however, seem at all bad; their allowance is about six-pence a day, at least equal to one shilling and six-pence here; they are not compelled to work, and some of them who had acknowledged themselves to be boat-builders, having been employed at their trade, received additional wages in consequence of the representation of the Consuls, who insisted that they should not work without being paid.

In the month of December a letter came from General O'Hara to Mr. Matra, acquainting him that I was ordered home in custody; and at the same time Captain Newhouse, of his Majesty's ship *Peterell*, was directed to receive me, *if I chose to go*. I readily consented to obey the order, but wrote to General O'Hara, that it would be impossible for me to comply with it so soon as twenty-four hours, which was all the time Captain Newhouse could allow me; if, how-

CHAP. XXVI.

Treatment of Christian slaves in Barbary.—The author receives notice of the demand of the British Court for his surrender.—Complies with it, and sails for Gibraltar.—His letter to the Governor, and the answer.—Sails for Lisbon.—Politely received by the British officers there.—Writes to the British Envoy and Mr. Murray, with their answers.—Sails for Portsmouth.—His letter to the Duke of Portland.—Sent for to town.

I REMAINED some time at Tangier, enjoying every amusement that place could afford; I visited the several Consuls, who, notwithstanding any war, always live upon friendly terms, much to the benefit of their several sovereigns, whose affairs would be materially injured by any disagreement, as the Moors would not fail to turn it to their disadvantage. I likewise amused myself with excursions into the country, but these the rain often rendered unpleasant; however, as I wished to see all I could, I disregarded petty inconveniences. One of my principal amusements was the improving of my friend and benefactor, Mr. Matra's horses; and to this I so far devoted myself, that when (as will hereafter be related,) Earl St. Vincent dispatched an officer

officer for me, I was found in the act of shoeing one of them.

I had one day an opportunity of knowing the treatment of the European slaves from their own mouths. Walking on the beach with an officer of the navy, we saw some of these captives, one of whom addressed himself to me in German; he informed me that they were *Lubekers* and *Hamburgese*, and had been some time in slavery. Their treatment does not, however, seem at all bad; their allowance is about six-pence a day, at least equal to one shilling and six-pence here; they are not compelled to work, and some of them who had acknowledged themselves to be boat-builders, having been employed at their trade, received additional wages in consequence of the representation of the Consuls, who insisted that they should not work without being paid.

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ever, any other ship came in a few days, or if the Petterell would look in on her return from the expedition on which she was going, I would not require her to come to anchor, as upon hoisting red at the main I would instantly repair on board.

On the 8th of January, 1799, fourteen days after, the Petterell hove in sight, and having made the signal previously agreed upon, I repaired on board ; a few hours conveyed us to Gibraltar, where I no sooner arrived than I sent the following letter to General O'Hara :

" SIR,

" IN obedience to your Excellency's
" commands, and the directions of the benevo-
" lent Mr. Matra, whose singular bounties to me
" have given him the privilege of disposing of
" me as *he* pleases, I yesterday embarked on
" board his Majesty's ship Petterell, and now
" surrender myself to your Excellencies dispo-
" sition. From you, Sir, I am assured of liberal
" treatment, therefore I have only to solicit the
" honour of an early audience. Confident in
" the rectitude of my own conduct, and the
" justice of my country, I can entertain no ap-
" prehension ; but did there even exist a possi-
" bility of converting any act of mine into a
" crime ;

" crime, long accustomed to adversity, I have
" learnt to meet with firmness all man can do.

" I am,

" Most perfectly and respectfully,

" SIR,

" Your Excellency's

" Very devoted servant.

" J. G. S. LISLE."

" *Gibraltar Bay,*

" *On board his M. S. Petterell,*

" *8th Jan. 1799.*"

The General, probably feeling himself a little awkward at the prospect of being drawn into conversation upon an affair of some delicacy, thought proper to decline complying with my request, and returned me the following answer:

" GIBRALTAR, the 9th JAN. 1799.

" SIR,

" IN consequence of orders from Government, through his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, you are to be sent to England in custody, and having no will of my own upon this occasion, I cannot but decline an interview, which, without serving you, could only give pain to

" SIR,

" Your obedient servant,

" CHA. O'HARA."

" *To Major Lisle.*"

Notwithstanding this refusal I, however, received marks of polite and kind attention from that excellent General.

It was the province of Earl St. Vincent to dispose of me as he pleased; and as his Majesty's ship *Mondovi* hove in sight the day after my arrival, I intreated his Lordship, that as she would, in all probability, soon return to Lisbon, I might be permitted to go in her; I particularly asked this, as I had some knowledge of Captain Selby, who commanded her, and who had before taken me to Tangier. I was honoured by his Lordship's consent, and he gave immediate orders to the *Mondovi* to prepare for her return as soon as she had delivered her dispatches and received those from the Garifon.

Next morning Captain Grey, whom I have before mentioned, came to me, and acquainted me, that the *Mondovi* was on the point of sailing; I therefore immediately repaired on board, and after a short voyage, during which I was treated with the utmost kindness and attention, arrived at Lisbon.

At Lisbon I was sent on board the *Brilliant*, commanded by that excellent officer and accomplished gentleman, Captain Blackwood. Here I enjoyed every pleasure the place would admit; and it is but justice to the several British

tish Commanders then in the Tagus, to declare, that I never, in the most auspicious situation of my life, was treated with more kindness and politeness. As soon as I arrived at Lisbon, I wrote to the British Envoy, Mr. Walpole, to whose humanity I had been so much indebted at my former visit to this place. To this he returned the following answer :

LISBON, 18th JANUARY, 1799.

" SIR,

" I HAVE been favoured with your letter of yesterday's date, and I take this opportunity of confirming to you the orders which I have received from his Majesty to send you home in custody ; and I have, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, despatched Captain Selby to convey you on board his Majesty's ship Brilliant, commanded by Captain Blackwood, and I am persuaded that you will receive every attention possible from Captain Blackwood.

" Under these circumstances you will perceive the impossibility of my acquiescing in your wishes to come on shore.

" I am, SIR,

" Your most obedient,

" humble Servant,

" ROB. WALPOLE."

" *Major J. G. Semple Lisle.*"

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I like-

I likewise wrote to Mr. Murray, the Consul-General, who had so kindly interfered for my liberation; and his answer, as explaining not only some parts of Mr. Walpole's, but several other circumstances, much better than I am able, I subjoin;

" SIR,

" I RECEIVED yesterday evening a letter from you without a date, and this morning, at 11 o'clock, one dated this morning. Before I say any thing on your present situation, let me acquaint you that I received a letter from you, from on board the vessel in which you left this river, after she was under weigh, so could not answer it to you then. I afterwards received that you left with the Portuguese gentleman at Belem, and paid him the two pieces you requested of me; the other two which you mention to have been put into the hands of the Intendant of Police I have never seen, nor ever will; it is in vain to expect it. All your papers left in my hands, with the certificate you desired from me, I sent Mr. J. Fox, at Falmouth, to lie till called for, as you desired, and I know they have got to hand.

" I observe what has passed with you since you left this. I went last night to the rooms

" ex-

“ expecting to meet Mr. Walpole; he did not
“ come there; and I am so much and so in-
“ dispensibly employed at present, writing to
“ Madeira and England, by vessels ready to sail,
“ that it is impossible for me to go to his house,
“ which is at a distance from mine; besides, it
“ appears to me, that it could be of no service
“ to you, not only because his conference with
“ Captain Selby must have been over this morn-
“ ing before I got your letter; but still more,
“ because, as he now acts under orders from
“ home, he cannot give scope to his own incli-
“ nations towards indulgencies to you, if con-
“ trary to those orders; and for that reason I
“ dare say he will decline giving you a meet-
“ ing. But there is still a further and more
“ powerful reason; after you went away, some
“ disagreeable circumstances took place be-
“ tween him and the Intendant; on that ac-
“ count an application to Court became neces-
“ sary, which the Intendant resented so much,
“ and laid before her Majesty the contents of
“ your, what he styled, petulant and insulting
“ letter to him, after your return from on board
“ the packet, that I am certain he would clap
“ you again into confinement the moment you
“ put your foot on shore here; and from the
“ nature of his office, he can do so, in spite of
“ all Mr. Walpole's endeavour to prevent it.
“ Nothing but the Queen turning the Intend-
“ ant

" ant out of office could prevent it, and that
 " you may believe is totally out of the question.
 " All that Mr. Walpole could do, would be to
 " insist on your being delivered up whenever
 " he pointed out the vessel in which he wanted
 " to send you to England; and even then the
 " Intendant would have it in his power to send
 " you on board a prisoner, and with what disagreeable marks he might chuse to call necessary, on the score of security for your not being one instant at liberty in this city: all this he can do, and I dare say, would not bate one disagreeable item. As for me, I cannot speak to the Intendant, having been implicated in the business between him and the Envoy, in so much, that we have had no communication since.

" From all this you will gather that it is my
 " opinion that you have nothing for it but patience, and to make the best of it you can;
 " and when you arrive in England, I doubt not
 " your readiness to surrender yourself to your
 " country will have full weight, and be of that
 " service to you there, which it cannot possibly
 " be here. I return you Governor O'Hara's
 " letter.

" I am, Sir,

" Your obedient Servant,

" CHAS. MURRAY."

" *Lisbon, Jan. 18, 1799.*"

Not-

Notwithstanding these friendly cautions, as there were no apprehensions entertained of my deserting, I frequently went on shore in the most perfect contempt of *Manique* and his authority.

About the 10th of February we sailed for England, and after a pleasant passage, arrived at Portsmouth on the 22d of the same month. Immediately on my arrival I announced myself to his Grace of Portland in the following letter :

“ On board his M. Ship *BRELIANT*, 22d Feb. 1799.

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour to inform your
 “ Grace from Tangiers, that in consequence of
 “ the extraordinary events with which you are
 “ acquainted, I had found myself reduced to
 “ the necessity of looking for hospitality on the
 “ shores of Barbary, where I engaged myself to
 “ remain inactive, a time more than sufficient
 “ for your Grace to convey to me your com-
 “ mands, which I bound myself to obey. About
 “ six weeks after my arrival in that country it
 “ was intimated by General O’Hara to Mr.
 “ Matra, his Majesty’s Consul-General, (whose
 “ bounties to me had given him a right to dis-
 “ pose of me as he pleased,) that the British
 Envoy

“ Envoy at the Court of Lisbon had received
“ an order to send me home in custody, and
“ that such an order had been communicated
“ to his Excellency. Having furnished your
“ Grace with every information, having surren-
“ dered myself to the British Envoy at Portu-
“ gal, according to the promise I made your
“ Grace in my letter from Brazil, having so
“ repeatedly solicited you to permit that I
“ should come to London ; in short, after hav-
“ ing done every thing honourable, and every
“ thing that it is possible for a man, well dis-
“ posed to do, I felt myself mortified to learn,
“ that it had been found necessary to order,
“ that I should be sent home in *custody*; ne-
“ vertheless, though, when such intelligence
“ reached me, I was no longer in the power of
“ the British Government, though I was in a
“ position from whence neither force or inge-
“ nuity could have taken me, I instantly pre-
“ pared to obey the summons of the Crown.
“ I wrote General O’Hara, assuring him that I
“ would surrender myself in his garrison in the
“ course of a fortnight ; and farther told his
“ Excellency, that the better to enable me to
“ accomplish that purpose, I had already soli-
“ cited the Commander of his Majesty’s ship
“ Petterell, who was then leaving Tangiers,
“ bound on an expedition of a few days to the
“ South-

“ Southward, to call for me on his return.
“ Such a delay was the more necessary for me,
“ that when I established myself at Tangiers,
“ supposing I should find myself obliged to re-
“ main there at least for some months, I had
“ contracted some small obligations in fitting
“ up a house, which I was not able immedi-
“ ately to discharge. His Excellency removed
“ these obstacles ; his Majesty’s ship *Petterell*
“ soon afterwards appeared in the bay, made
“ the signal agreed on between her Commander
“ and myself, and I embarked for Gibraltar,
“ where I had the satisfaction to find that my
“ conduct met the approbation of the Governor
“ and Admiral. To the humanity and libe-
“ rality of Earl St. Vincent, and those invin-
“ cible heroes by whom he is surrounded, I
“ am indebted for an inexhaustible fund of con-
“ solation.

“ Committed to the charge of Captain Black-
“ wood, by his Majesty’s Envoy at Lisbon, I
“ have at length reached this port ; and after
“ having well weighed every act of mine since
“ I left these shores ; after calling to my recol-
“ lection that it must be known to your Grace
“ that my conduct has been approved of by
“ every respectable character in the service
“ of the British crown, in whose way dame
“ Fortune has tossed me. After its being esta-
“ blished

" blished beyond all possibility of doubt, that
 " I have surrendered myself a volunteer to the
 " order of Government, and since that period
 " I have in nothing felt myself in custody, I
 " venture to pray, that I may be permitted to
 " *present myself* wherever his Majesty may be
 " pleased to command ; but should there, in
 " your Grace's opinion, exist reasons to consti-
 " tute me, for a time, a prisoner, confident in
 " the rectitude of my own conduct, and the
 " justice of my country, I most cheerfully sub-
 " mit to such a decision ; but humbly intreat,
 " that the place of my confinement may be
 " where it was when I was less intitled to in-
 " dulgence—the state side of Newgate—This re-
 " quest will, I hope, appear the more reason-
 " able to your Grace, that the accuser as I am
 " of the mutineers, and others more guilty
 " than they are, I should, were I to mingle with
 " the crowd, be treated by them as it is usual
 " to treat a King's evidence, a character which,
 " if to share in the guilt be a necessary qualifi-
 " cation, I cannot be supposed to exhibit.

" I have the honour to be,

" With the highest respect,

" My LORD DUKE, &c. &c. &c.

" J. G. S. LISLE."

I wrote

I wrote likewise to Earl Spencer, sending him the samples of wood I had collected at Brazil, of which, though I had lost some few during my arrest at Lisbon, I had preserved the most valuable.

During my stay at Portsmouth, Ensign Prater, whose officiousness I have before had occasion to mention, thought proper to publish a detail of the mutiny on board the *Lady Shore*. In this curious production (which appeared in the *Star* of the 2d of April, 1799,) he says, "On our first arrival at Port Saint Pedroes, Adjutant Minchin, *of his own accord*, allowed James George Semple Lisle, who was a convict on board, to make out a Report to the Governor, that he the said Semple was a Major in the Dutch Cavalry; and Adjutant Minchin sanctioned it." To this I shall only reply, that I made *no report*, as has been already seen; and that it was not Minchin alone that signed it, but, as his Majesty's Ministers know, *every officer* of the ship and troops. He goes on, "the officer in whose house I was quartered, asked me why the said Major had not his uniform, belt, breast-plate, sash, &c. as Adjutant M. and myself? I, not wishing to deceive the officer, informed him, that *he never had any*." If by the good-natured and perspicuous reply Mr. Prater states himself to have given to the

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the officer he meant, that *I never had any uniform*, he was surely mistaken; and in fact I never wore any other dress during my stay in Brazil; if he alluded to the breast-plate, (meaning, I suppose,) the *gorget*, *he* is perfectly correct, for, as an officer of dragoons, it was not a part of my uniform; in fact, he wished to injure me, and threw himself into the situation of Pope's dunce, who,

"Means not, but blunders round about a meaning."

As to swords, we were all alike, for thanks to him and his Commander Minchin, who prudently declined drawing upon the mutineers, they had been all taken away, as being what *some* of us had no occasion for. He likewise insinuates, that Minchin and myself had conspired against him; whether I conspired or bore him any malice, nay, whether I had not been his friend and benefactor, let the following elegant letter shew:

"BAHAI, MAY 2d, 1797-

"To

"Major J. G. S. Lisle

"SIR,

"I return your Trowfers with many
 "thanks. Should have returned before but
 "the Taylor disappointed me in getting mine
 "done untill this day

"I desired

" I desired Welsh to get a Bundle contain-
 " ing four Muslinet waistcoats & a Reg^{te}. Coat.
 " in your Possession but he told me you had
 " detain'd them till I paid you what you paid
 " the Surgeon at Rio de Janeiro; the small
 " pittance I received the other day was Bearly
 " sufficient to pay for what Clothes &c. I was
 " in want of; you Certainly cannot be igno-
 " rant of my distrefs in Respect of those necef-
 " fary article, & the dearness of this Country
 " now I have nothing to get a small sea stock.
 " for the rest of the Voyage; but you shall be
 " pay'd at Lisbon on our arrival at that port,
 " & you will oblige me in giving the Articles
 " to Welsh not that they worth your keeping
 " as the waistcoats too small for you and the
 " Coat not worth your use;

" I am Sir

" Yours obediently

" WM. PRATER

" Ensign N. S. Wales Corp's

" of Foot."

I only remark, that I knew nothing about
 his cloaths, which it seems he had left in the
 care of my servant, and which I ordered to be
 given him as soon as I knew of his demand;
 he forgot to pay me the money he mentions,
 either at Lisbon or any where else. The pan-

A a

raloons

taloons and shirt I never meant to receive, as they were not lent but given; for seeing him come along the front of a regiment drawn up to receive the Governor of *Minas* as he landed at *Babia*, with fash, gorget, and uniform, in a dirty shirt, and a pair of white pantaloons mended across the fore-part with brown thread; I told him to disappear from where he then was, and to go to my servant, who would supply him with pantaloons and a shirt.

As soon as his account of the mutiny appeared, I replied to his scurrility in the same paper of the 8th April. My answer I here subjoin; and have only to add, that he had treated the great and dignified characters I mention, with an indecency not fit for a gentlemen even to repeat.

Extract of a Letter from the STAR.

April 8, 1799.

“ It was my wish to have avoided every public discussion on the subject of the mutiny on board the *Lady Shore*, until a court of justice had given their opinion. The trial is not delayed by any fault of mine. I left a state of happiness in Barbary. I came forward the moment I was called upon by my country, and have been in perfect readiness to meet investigation.

" investigation these six weeks ; nor have I ceased
 " submissively, to solicit that it may be brought
 " on. But since Ensign Prater has published,
 " through the channel of your paper, a state-
 " ment prejudicial to me, and since you cannot
 " publish the relation of facts, to which I fur-
 " nish vouchers*, do me the favour to ask that
 " gentleman (who seems so well acquainted
 " with the particulars of the mutiny,) who it
 " was that, absent from his cabin in the mo-
 " ment of the mutiny, and missing for several
 " hours after the affray was over, was found
 " concealed in the fore-part of the ship, where
 " the women convicts were confined? and, who
 " fought for shelter underneath the bed of the
 " surgeon?

" Mr. Prater, on the score of Commodore
 " Hancorne, is so far correct, that that truly
 " respectable and amiable character did render
 " me many services in Brazil, and did refuse to
 " receive his visits: it is true the Commodore

* " The *relation of facts* here referred to was refused inser-
 " tion, not from any doubt of its correctness; for in support
 " of it we were referred to gentlemen whose reputations are
 " unfulfilled, viz. Mr. Black, the Purser, Mr. Fyfe, the Sur-
 " geon, Mr. Murchison, the Second Mate, and Mr. Lewes,
 " the Steward; but because in the present state of the busi-
 " ness we thought some parts of it unseasonable, and there-
 " fore likely to be deemed libellous.

" EDIT."

" had once the honour of being a Lieutenant in
 " the most glorious navy under heaven; he is
 " proud to say so, nor did he, at once, jump
 " into the distinguished situation he now occu-
 " pies with so much reputation, he obtained it
 " by length of service and by dint of merit!
 " But Mr. Prater should have accused the Com-
 " manding Admiral of the fleet, Antonio Ja-
 " nuario de Valle, and not Commodore Han-
 " corne, of having supplied my wants, and his
 " Excellency the Vice-Roy, of having given
 " me a handsome house, while he lodged Pra-
 " ter, Drummond, the soldiers, women, &c.
 " without distinction, in an hospital; these
 " great men knew every thing unfavourable to
 " me, but they had also the means of learning
 " how I behaved in the moment of the mutiny:
 " and how some others. My dispute with Mr.
 " Prater differs in something from his account
 " of it. Reasons, more than sufficient, induced
 " me (while at Rio Grande) to put my sword
 " in my hand against him, but he was rescued
 " from the danger into which he had drawn
 " himself, by the interference of Mr. Murchi-
 " son, who himself received what was meant
 " for Prater.

" I am, SIR,

" Your most obedient Servant,

" J. G. S. LISLE."

" *Portsmouth, April 5, 1759.*"

During

During my stay at Portsmouth I received the same attention and politeness I had met with at Lisbon. As no doubts were entertained concerning my safety, I was permitted to amuse myself as I pleased; but as a life of indolence never suited my disposition, I again and again made application to his Majesty's Ministers to send for me to town. I could not indeed suppose that they would order me to be brought to England without some reason, and I naturally concluded, that they had for their object the investigation of the mutiny on board the *Lady Shore*; two months and upwards, however, elapsed before I was sent for.

At length, either in consequence of my applications, or from some other motive, Mr. Townshend was sent for me. He found me early in the morning on board the *Brilliant*; and after acquainting me with his mission, he left me, and returned to his inn, where I engaged to join him before eleven o'clock; this engagement I fulfilled, and we immediately set off to town. From him I received the most polite treatment; I was laid under no restraint whatever, and so far from being disarmed, I not only travelled with my side-arms, but Mr. Townshend, who knew my disposition, furnished me with a brace of pistols for our mutual

defence on the road; in short, his humanity and politeness made me forget that I was a prisoner.

C H A P. XXVII,

The author arrives in town, is sent to Totbil-Fields Bridewell.—Character of that prison.—The author's exploits with bailiffs.—Conclusion,

AT my arrival in town I was deposited in Totbil-Fields Bridewell, where I have ever since remained, to use the phraseology of the place, like a parcel left at an inn till called for. Here I have received the utmost politeness, and the most humane attention, from Mr. Fenwick, the Governor, and his family, who seem, in short, to be formed by nature for softening the rigours of captivity; such, too, is the force of example, that the same humanity pervades all his servants, and guilt, though nothing human can divest it of its horrors and remorse, feels them as its worst evils, without the aggravation of tortures, equally cruel, unnecessary, and impolitic.

Thus far has been, what we may call, the more serious part of my history; and many of
my

my readers will, perhaps, be much surprised at not finding it a counter-part to that of Jonathan Wild; but, in truth, my life has rather consisted of serious, than of comic scenes, and my adventures, beside those already enumerated, are not, I hope, of a very criminal dye. I have, it is true, had a thousand hair-breadth escapes from bailiffs, and among the rest, one or two laughable ones, which I shall relate; but as to the trash sold by Kearsley as my history, I know nothing of it, farther, than that it is, with the exception of a very few instances, totally false, and where true, shamefully distorted. For instance, I was by him accused of having defrauded Lord Eardley, Lord Salisbury, and Messrs. Grimwood, Hudson, and Barret, all of whom lived in the same street; I sent to them to know if they had any charge against me, and received from each a certificate, acknowledging, that I never had cheated them, and that they had nothing to lay to my charge. I mean, not, however, to deny that I have neglected punctuality in my payments, and that when I wanted money, I have, without thinking how it would be paid, accepted the loan of a few guineas from any friend; taylor's have, likewise, found me not so ready to pay as to order; and thus I became acquainted with bailiffs.

One of my best manœuvres to avoid them was, before my person was known to them, to pretend business in all the different spunging-houses: I thus knew their faces, and by the help of a good look-out, for a long time avoided them. One day, however, near Charing-cross, I was met in a hackney-coach by two bailiffs, who had a writ against me; as soon as I perceived them, I ordered the coachman to drive as fast as he possibly could into the Horse Guards, promising to take all consequences upon myself, and to give him a guinea for his trouble. The descendant of Jehu exerted his utmost skill, but without being able to prevent one from attempting to seize the horses, while the other attempted to storm the door; a dexterous application of the whip, however, made the post the former had taken very uneasy, and I repelled, as well as I could, the attacks of the other invader. Both clung, however, to the sides of the coach, till we drove altogether into the Horse Guards; there I leaped out, and having explained the matter to the officer then on duty, made a bow to the bailiffs, and walked through the Park, while they returned by the gate they had entered, amidst the laughter of all who beheld the scene.

Another time, sitting at breakfast, I was attacked by three of them, and got off by the following

lowing stratagem: I then lived in Oxendon-street; and almost opposite to me lodged Lord (then the honourable Mr.) Semple, who bore a commission in the Guards; the similitude of names, as both were called Captain Semple, had occasioned many mistakes; but though our names were alike, our circumstances differed widely; for he owed nobody a farthing, and I owed every body who would give me credit. As soon as these vultures of the law entered the room, they, with the usual etiquette, made me acquainted with the purport of their visit, and concluded, by giving me a very pressing invitation to a house kept by one of them. As I wished to decline this honour, I affected much surprize, and told them they must needs be mistaken, as I was in debt to nobody; they asked me if I was not Captain Semple? "Then, gentlemen," said I, "the whole is cleared up, there is another Captain Semple lives in this street, I see him now," pointing at his lodgings, "looking through the window; and this is not the first, nor hardly the twentieth time, that I have been arrested for him; in short, his attornies, his duns, and his bailiffs, will force me to quit this street." I then professed myself perfectly ready to go with them, if they insisted upon it; but that I was quite wearied with such incessant visits of that nature;
and

and must, for my own sake, bring any illegal act before a Court of Justice, that I might be rid of such plagues for the future. This puzzled the bailiffs, who, with some reluctance, went down stairs, and, at the door, enquired of the servant of the house, if there was *any other Captain Semple* in that street; she told him there was, and opening the door, pointed out to them the same house that I had done. This satisfied them, and I profited by the diversion thus made in my favour to escape, leaving my honourable namesake to settle the affair with them as he could. In a word, he was taken to a spunging-house, in spite of all his remonstrances, till the agent of the regiment released him; I have been told, he afterwards attempted a prosecution against the bailiff, but it appearing that no wanton use had been made of the writ, and that the mistake was almost unavoidable, he obtained no satisfaction.

Another time Colonel ——— had the misfortune to be arrested, and two *good sureties* being demanded, I undertook to procure them for my old friend and companion. Two were accordingly found; but, alas! notwithstanding they swore positively, they were not credited, and we were forced to come again into court next day; then, however, we succeeded, for having procured *a new face*, I dressed one of the
former

former (a Jew, who sold slippers about the streets) in such a manner, that he was no longer recognized by the Court, and we came off triumphant.

This dexterity in avoiding the common course of law, however, eventually cost me dear; I was so well known for out-witting bailiffs, that there was hardly one who would undertake to arrest me; and this it was, as I am well convinced, that induced Mr. Lycett to proceed against me criminally. In consequence of this ambiguity thrust into the law, nobody knows how, men are intrapped; and, if carried to its extent, there may soon be no impossibility in taking an insolvent merchant from the Royal Exchange, and sending him to New South Wales.

I now return to the subject of my more serious business; and here I must beg my readers' patience till I lay before them a concise view of my vicissitudes. Born of an antient and noble race, but not possessed of riches equal to their rank, I naturally imbibed ideas of a too lofty kind; flattered in my youth by my rich and powerful friends, I formed to myself plans of future grandeur; plans, which my impetuosity of disposition prevented me from realizing. With abundance of fire, and not a single atom of prudence, I launched into the world; my friends

friends supplied me with money even to profusion ; and as I got it without trouble, I spent it without reluctance. Liberal as they were, my extravagance outstripped their bounty, and I was repeatedly involved in debt ; still their purses were not shut ; they satisfied my creditors, and, with shame I relate, their generosity only impelled me to new expences !

Accustomed, from my earliest infancy, to the most elevated society, my ideas imperceptibly assimilated themselves to theirs. I entertained views of grandeur while yet a child ; I felt myself born a soldier, and implicitly trusted to my sword for opening to me the way to the Temple of Glory. When little beyond the age of a school-boy, I was distinguished by the most renowned generals ; I had seen the immense armies of Russia cloathed in an uniform of my own contriving, and the celebrated Prince Potemkin had, as is well known, honoured me with particular marks of his approbation. Flattering, as are the distinctions I received, I will not relate them all ; but my reception by the *Prince de Ligne* was in a style of compliment too singular to be omitted.

Coming to Brabant, on my return from the Black Sea, I had the honour of becoming acquainted with that great and most amiable Prince. To the utmost politeness, he super-added

added an invitation, in consequence of which I went to Antwerp, where his Highness then lay with a corps of army, as the Emperor, Joseph II. then threatend to attack Holland. Such was the opinion of my military talents, which this veteran foldier entertained, that in compliment, he ordered his regiment, which was certainly one of the finest in the world, to parade before the hotel where I lodged: not satisfied with this, though he was an old Imperial General, and I was a very young Major, he placed me at his right-hand, and went with me along the front. The very instant too that I was receiving this most honourable and pleasing compliment, as if every thing meant to conspire to inflate my vanity, Earl Cholmondely, with another gentleman and a lady, arrived at the *Grande Laboureur*, the hotel where I was.

A constant repetition of those praises might have intoxicated a much cooler head than mine; my pride had now its full scope; I was already in idea a General in Chief; my brain teemed with improvements in tactics and evolutions, till my expences so far out-grew my income, that I was involved in debt and difficulties.

Even when I was disgraced at home, I was admitted to the favour and familiarity of the first generals upon the Continent: what their
opinion

opinion of me was, the following anecdote will shew. Just after I had joined the allied army in the Low Countries, a British General who knew me and my whole history, one day asked the Duke F. of Brunfwick, how he, knowing my disgrace, and that I had just come from France, could put such confidence in me? "Were I a taylor, or a boot-maker," replied the Duke, "I certainly should be somewhat cautious in giving him *credit*, but as a soldier, I know that I might safely trust him with the whole Prussian army."

Of my sufferings since I left the allies I need not say another word; my readers are fully acquainted with them, and I cannot submit to the whining tone of complaint. I have, I trust, amidst them all, acted in such a manner as to give my friends no reason to blush for me; my actions were such as I thought my duty required, though I cannot help thinking myself somewhat hardly treated, at being left for near six months in a prison, without even the smallest allowance for subsistence.

I have now performed what I promised, by giving my own history, such as it has really been; and the reader has, I hope, seen, amidst all my errors, something that may be commended, much that may be pardoned, and still more that

that must be pitied. That I meant to vindicate every part of my conduct could not be supposed; but, alas! man is the creature of circumstances, and let him not presume to expect, that no pressure is heavy enough to drive him to a wrong action. Violent passions, the almost inseparable companions of a vigorous constitution, call upon youth, with an importunity nearly unceasing; experience, the surest guide, is inevitably wanting; example invites, splendour displays its allurements, fashion leads the way, and ruin too often follows. Gay, honest, unsuspecting, and generous, the young man rushes on to pleasure, and considering interest as trash, is apt to weigh the property of others as lightly as he does his own; amusements incur expence, and expence degenerates into prodigality. To supply those pleasures now become almost necessary to his existence; he contracts debts, which he cannot pay; he shifts from his creditors; his gay companions forsake him, as an incumbrance on their joyous moments; poverty stares him in the face, and actions, at which his soul recoils, become the only possible means of subsisting. If an accidental supply falls in his way, his relish for pleasure returns; he embraces it with an appetite sharpened by abstinence; he is again involved, and disgrace succeeds to ruin.

Once

Once disgraced, those *prudent* friends, whom the law alone restrains from open plunder, abandon him; they do worse, they shut the door of society against him by their calumnies; his faults are the theme of their conversation, and they shelter their own want of honesty behind his loss of fame; they hunt him down with unceasing clamour, till it needs more than common discernment and common firmness even to dare to befriend him; his timid well-wishers will not venture to give their countenance to him; and he is left to perish!

Did it always happen that men of warm passions, hurried away by pleasures, were villains; or did it always happen that the cold, the solemn, the plegmatic, were honest; some excuse might be found for such persecutions. But as it happens on the contrary, that the man who is without vices is also, for the most part, without virtues; and that prudence is very often nothing better than low selfishness in disguise, little can be said for such gratuitous severity; besides, if one good action is not sufficient to constitute the man of worth, why should one bad one be allowed to constitute the villain? A serious turn, the effect of experience, may reclaim the libertine, his unruly passions may subside, and he may, if the gate of society be left open to him, some time or other, re-enter it; but, if
hunted

hunted into villainy, by the clamours of hypocrisy, the die is cast, and his perdition is inevitable.

Too often do talents and accomplishments prove the ruin of the owner; he is beset by the envy of little minds, they endeavour to reduce him to their own level, by drawing him into debauches; they flatter him while in his presence, but no sooner is he gone than they revile him: if his intimacy with them can give probability to their tales, they fabricate calumnies which pass for truths; if he makes one false step, he falls unpitied, and they are the first to trample upon him.

It is a trite observation, that men of talent are generally poor, and seldom rise to any high preferment; it is true! for if they depend solely on their merit, no sooner does that begin to display itself, than it is invested on all sides by an army of blockheads, who, having no merit of their own, cannot bear it in others. But where a youth sets out with high spirits, conspicuous talents, indulgent friends, and a small fortune, his ruin is next to inevitable; life is to him a perpetual ambuscade, with a thousand masked batteries ready to play upon him at every turn; his vanity is flattered, his senses amused, his companions press him to become

the partaker of their pleasures, his enemies endeavour to entice him to destruction; he yields himself up to gaiety and expence, till at length he falls, and dunces rise on his ruin.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X.

IT was not my intention to have added another word to the preceding sheets; but, on looking over Mr. Prater's account of the mutiny, I thought it a pity that such a *beau morceau* should be entrusted to the perishable archives of a newspaper. It is in fact an *unique*, and will, no doubt, recommend him to promotion, as it is plain that no such petty impediments as fogs or mists can obstruct the lyncean eye of one that (according to his own account) can see through an oak plank; besides, as he can describe affairs which he never saw, with all the precision of an eye-witness, his talents, at making official reports, must be truly wonderful. In order to do him justice, I cannot forbear giving his own words; and I doubt not that my readers will, with me, pronounce him

Tam Marti quam Mercurio.

*Extract from the STAR, of Ensign PRATER'S
Narrative of the Mutiny on board the LADY
SHORE.*

" On the 1st day of August, 1797, about
" four o'clock A. M. the French emigrants,
" and a number of deserters (sent on board the
" Lady Shore) bound to New Holland, as-
" sisted by the seamen,* revolted, and took pos-
" session of the ship, guns, small arms, and the
" arm-chest. Mr. Lambert, Chief Mate, whose
" watch it was upon deck, having observed
" them for some time loading their muskets at
" the main hatchway, without alarming the
" Captain or Officers commanding the troops,
" imprudently went into the cabin, loaded his
" pistols, and discharging one of them, shot a
" Frenchman, named de la Hay; the muti-
" neers immediately shot Mr. Lambert dead
" on the spot. As Captain Wilcox, hearing
" a noise, was coming out of his cabin, he was
" stabbed in the right side of his neck, and in
" his left breast, which occasioned him to fall
" down the companion ladder into the great ca-
" bin, which was our apartment. By this time the

* The seamen evidently lent no assistance in the time of the mutiny, they afterwards were compelled to assist in working the ship. (P. 206.)

" revolters

“ revolvers had entire possession of the ship, stationing sentries at every hatchway, with their arms loaded, pointing two guns down the main hatchway, loaded with grape-shot and broken bottles; also two guns on the fore-castle, pointed aft, loaded in the like manner; laying on the gratings at every hatchway, to stop any one from coming upon deck.

“ About eight o’clock A. M.* the chiefs and several others came down below into the great cabin, and demanded our arms, which were given them; at the same time Adjutant Minchin gave orders to the serjeants to deliver up what arms and what ammunition they had amongst them, and desired them not to make any resistance. Adjutant M. gave his word and honour that no resistance should be made on his part, or any of his people, against them. Serjeant Hughes informed Adjutant M. he had about twenty-eight stand of arms, and about thirty or forty rounds of ball cartridges, which Adjutant M. ordered him to deliver up.

* Mr. Prater must either possess the faculty of seeing through three bulk-heads of stout oak plank, or else he must relate this from hearsay, as he was, at the time he mentions, concealed among the women convicts. (P. 199.)

“ They informed us, that in a few days they
“ intended to give us the long-boat, and send
“ us away, which they performed on the 15th
“ day, at eight o’clock P. M. distance about
“ 100 leagues off land, at the entrance of the
“ river de la Plata, in the latitude of Cape St.
“ Mary; sending in the long-boat twenty-nine
“ persons, men, women, and children, the
“ youngest child not five weeks old. After
“ meeting with very tempestuous weather and
“ heavy seas, in forty-eight hours we arrived at
“ a Portuguese settlement, called Port Saint
“ Pedroes, Rio Grande, where we were received
“ by the Governor and inhabitants in a very
“ humane manner. On our first arrival at Port
“ Saint Pedroes, Adjutant Minchin, of his own
“ accord,* allowed James George Semple Lisle,
“ who was a convict on board, to make out a
“ Report to the Governor, that he the said
“ Semple was a Major in the Dutch cavalry,
“ and Adjutant M. sanctioned him in it.
“ Some few days after, the officer, at whose
“ house I was quartered, asked me the reason
“ why the said Major had not his uniform, belt,
“ breast-plate, sash, &c. as well as Adjutant

* I have elsewhere remarked the gross falsehood of this relation, for further satisfaction, the reader may, however, refer to P. 215—217.

“ M. and self? I, not wishing to deceive the
“ officer, informed him he never had any; and
“ that he was nothing but a convict, and was
“ sent out for seven years transportation. The
“ Governor was informed what I had re-
“ ported, and acquainted Semple with it, who
“ went to Minchin’s quarters, and asked his
“ advice what he should do in the business?
“ Minchin advised him to seek and run me
“ through, and there would be nothing more
“ said about his character. Minchin being
“ very intimate with Semple, went next morn-
“ ing, in company with him, to the Governor’s,
“ carrying a parcel of papers belonging to him,
“ one of them said to be a Dutch Commission
“ in the cavalry*: and Minchin told the Go-
“ vernor the said Semple was a gentleman of
“ rank and fortune, a passenger on board the
“ Lady Shore; and that he knew him to be an

* I am more ashamed, if possible, of Prater’s folly and baseness, than of the trouble I give my readers in remarking it. There was, it seems, a paper which he could not read, and this I called, what it really was, a Dutch Commission; but surely his own ignorance was no sufficient reason for his assertion. By the same rule he might deny any other paper to be authentic; he wished to vilify me in the eyes of all mankind, and therefore finding his story disregarded by the distinguished personages of *Rio Grande*, he attempted to circulate it in England, where, to his disgrace, the falsehood of his assertion is universally known.

“ officer in Dutch cavalry, and what I had
 “ reported was an infamous lie; and he the said
 “ Minchin hoped the Governor would chastise
 “ me. Minchin took Semple’s advice in every
 “ thing,* and always kept him company.

“ On the 23d September, 1797, we were
 “ embarked on board small craft for Rio de Ja-
 “ neiro. Semple, Mr. Black, and Michael
 “ Richards, a boy, made interest to go by land
 “ to St. Catharine’s. We arrived at Rio de
 “ Janeiro on the 23d of October, some time
 “ after the above-mentioned people had reached
 “ that settlement from St. Catharine’s, on board
 “ the Portuguese men of war. Semple was on
 “ board the Admiral’s ship, Signior Antoine
 “ Janeiro’s; Mr. Black on board a 64 gun ship,
 “ commanded by one Thompson,† an English-
 “ man. On board the Admiral’s ship was an-
 “ other Englishman (named Philip Anvorn, a

* Neither Minchin nor Prater were *my companions*, and had
either of them taken my advice during the mutiny, I have little
 doubt of having saved the ship; and had they taken it when
 they were in Brazil, they would have met with more respect
 than they received.

† Since the time of *one Arnold*, I have not heard of even an
 enemy being treated with such indecency. But to the truth
 of the next observation I readily and heartily subscribe; Mr.
 Prater was *sincerely* sorry that I was treated with respect by the
 most distinguished officers in the Portuguese service.

“ Lieutenant

“ Lieutenant in our service, but rank of Major-
“ General in the Portuguese service) who, I
“ am sorry to say, paid every attention to
“ Semple, supplying him with cash, and in-
“ troducing him to the first company in Rio
“ de Janeiro. Although I had applied to him
“ in person for assistance, and to use his interest
“ for us to be better treated than what we were,
“ he, knowing our situation, many days with-
“ out subsistence, actually in a state of starva-
“ tion, the allowance from the Viceroy being
“ only twelve pence, sterling about $13\frac{1}{2}$ d.
“ per day, for fifty days; and that was actually
“ stopped from all of us for four or five days,
“ except Drummond, without our having a
“ morsel of bread to eat.

“ On the 23d of January, 1798, we were em-
“ barked on board the different Brazil mer-
“ chantmen, for St. Salvadore's and Lisbon,
“ and arrived at St. Salvadore's the 5th of
“ April; being very ill treated on board the
“ merchantmen, having nothing to eat but
“ stinking salt beef, cascade root, and horse
“ beans. We represented our ill treatment to
“ Francisco Paulo de Lait, Admiral, and com-
“ manding our convoy, who took no notice of
“ it. We staid at St. Salvadore's two months,
“ receiving no subsistence either from the Go-
“ vernor or Commodore. On board the ship
“ with

" with myself was Lieutenant Drummond. On
 " our coming out of the Bay of All-Saints, we
 " unfortunately carried away our rudder, and
 " were obliged to return to refit, when, on ap-
 " plying to the Governor for a passage in the
 " second convoy, he kindly ordered us on board
 " the frigate Carlotta, the Commodore of the con-
 " voy where we cannot say, with truth, we were
 " treated like gentlemen. On our going into
 " the Tagus, we got aground on the Bar of
 " Lisbon, but in twenty-four hours we happily
 " got off, by the assistance of the Almighty,
 " and not by the good management of the Por-
 " tuguese.* Witness my hand this 1st Septem-
 " ber, 1798.

" W^M. PRATER, Ensign,

" N. S. W. Corps of Foot."

* Mr. Prater grows wondrous pious towards his conclusion;
 and indeed if his piety there arose from repentance for the
 falsehoods that he had uttered, it might be, perhaps, a con-
 solation to the godly part of his friends. Without, however,
 the least intention of under-rating the mercies of God, or over-
 rating the seamanship of the Portuguese sailors, had they not
 been on board, the ship had, I doubt, remained on the Bar
 of Lisbon till this day.

" Copy

*" Copy of Lieutenant GERARD DRUMMOND'S
Certificate.*

" Ensign Prater having desired me to look
" into the above Report of the seizure, &c. of
" the ship Lady Shore, on the 1st day of Au-
" gust, 1797 ; I do hereby declare the above re-
" port to be true, as I was on board the ship at
" the time, and have been with Mr. Prater
" since leaving the ship, in the long boat, to
" our arrival at this place.

(Signed) " GERARD DRUMMOND,
" Lieutenant Bombay Marines Hon.
" East-India Company's Service."*

* This was a most convenient certificate ; it was, without a date, tacked, like an epaulet on a military coat, to any thing that required it, and shifted as occasion offered. Mr. Drummond is in the East Indies, or I might answer his certificate by asking, who it was that hid himself under the surgeon's bed ?

(COPIE.)

(COPIE.)

*A Monsieur,**Monsieur le Baron D'OMPTEDA,**Envoyé d'HANOVRE,**a RATISBONNE.*

“ SOUFFREZ, Monsieur, que je vous
 “ demande raison de votre conduite a mon
 “ egard.

“ En 1°. A quel titre, et de quel droit avez
 “ vous en la témérité, de me faire arrêter?
 “ Etoit-ce comme Ministre de sa Majesté Bri-
 “ tannique? Mais, Monsieur, etiez vous revêtu
 “ de ce caractère? Vous qui n'etes reçu a la
 “ Diette de Ratisbonne que comme le Ministre
 “ de l'Electeur de Brunswic Lunebourg, et en
 “ qui le Senat d'Augsburg n'a reconnu que ce
 “ titre dans son decret ci joint, du 11 Mars,
 “ 1794.

“ Vous avez donc eu tort de vous qualifier de
 “ Ministre de sa M. Britannique comme vous
 “ l'avez fait a Augsburg le 11 Decembre, 1793;
 “ et dont je vous envoie un fidele extrait. Ce
 “ n'est donc point a ce titre que vous avez pu
 “ avoir autorité sur moi

“ Mais encore, etoit-ce en qualité d'autho-
 “ risé de sa M. B.? Mais comment auriez vous
 l'impudence

“ l'impudence de le dire ? Vous qui savez que
“ le véritable Ministre de la Cour Britannique
“ a Ratibonne, a déclaré qu' elle n'avoit pas
“ demandé mon arrestation, et que le Roi n'a-
“ voit aucun sujet de plainte contre moi.

“ Vous n'aviez donc, Monsieur, aucune au-
“ thorité sur moi, ni comme Ministre, ni comme
“ autorisé de sa Majesté Britannique, vous
“ avez donc outre passé les pouvoirs qui vous
“ ont été confiés par votre Souverain, et par
“ conséquent compromis le caractère dont il
“ vous avoit revêtu,

“ Mais 2°. Quand vous auriez été revêtu de
“ tous les titres que vous avez eu la presomp-
“ tion d'emprunter, ma conduite méritoit-elle
“ de si mauvais traitements de votre part ? les
“ témoignages flatteurs et les grades honnora-
“ bles que m'ont accordé les Princes sous les
“ drapeaux desquels j'ai servir ne la justifient-
“ ils pas suffisamment ?

“ Je ne parlerai point ici de mes campagnes
“ au service de la Russie, ni de celles que j'ai
“ fait en Amérique dans les armées de S. M. B.
“ mon Souverain, mais je parle de la manière
“ dont je me suis montré en 1793 en combat-
“ tant sous les ordres de S. A. S. Monseigneur
“ le Duc de Brunswic Oels, et en suite sous
“ ceux de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Prince d'
“ Orange, le grade honorable que cet auguste
“ Prince

his Majesty's Consul-General for Morocco, and with him we spent that day.

Lieutenant Down, being very apprehensive that the *Dorothea* might sail from Gibraltar up the Mediterranean, determined, (for what will not British seamen do?) to leave the stock he had purchased, and proceed next morning at day-break in his yawl for Gibraltar. I solicited his leave to accompany him, which he granted; but as we were preparing to depart, we perceived his Majesty's ship *El Corso*, with a French privateer, her prize, which had arrived during the night. I immediately suggested to Lieutenant Down, that it might accommodate the Commander of *El Corso*, and perfectly answer our purpose, should we offer to take charge of the prize and carry her to Gibraltar. The Lieutenant approved my plan, and instantly proposed it to the Commander of *El Corso*, who was much pleased to have the means of sending his prize into port without weakening his ship, and readily complied with our request. She was therefore delivered over to Lieutenant Down, with only four men belonging to *El Corso*. These, with the Purser, the nephew of the Vice-Consul, the boat's crew, and myself, made up the whole of his strength; we sailed with a brisk westerly breeze, and in a very few hours we reached the Rock, just as
the

the Dorothea and her convoy got in. All the Spanish gun-boats had come out to attack them; the Dorothea had been vigourously assailed, and Captain Grey, who, with his Lady, came passengers in that ship from Lisbon, had nearly lost their lives.

The Dorothea came to an anchor within Europa Point, while the gun-boats kept a heavy and well-directed fire upon her. Captain and Mrs. Grey went into one of the barges to land, and just as they pushed off from the ship, one of the top-masts was shot away and fell so near the boat that it almost sunk her; they however reached the shore in safety, though compleatly drenched.

CHAP. XXV.

The author arrives safe at Gibraltar.—Is arrested on account of the discovery of a conspiracy there.—Discharged from confinement.—Extraordinary exertions of Earl St. Vincent.—The author arrives at Tangier, where he is most kindly treated by the Consul-General.—Resolves to wait there for the Duke of Portland's orders.—Description of Tangier.—Manner of building houses there.—The gaiety





nary ceremony of obtaining permission to proceed to land, takes up, even in peaceable times, some hours; but the officers of the navy whom I saw there, informed me that as I was on board one of his Majesty's ships, I was at the disposal of Earl St. Vincent, who must do with me as he should think fit. By them I was told that it was believed that I belonged to the privateer, as I should naturally suppose, from the circumstance of my having been seen upon her deck in an uniform which they did not know; in short, I understand my person was recognized by some one who knew me, but who never dreamt of my being there as one of the persons employed in bringing the prize into port, imagining, on the contrary, that I had joined the enemies of my country.

This news, I was told, had been carried to Earl St. Vincent, who, taking it to be true, was very justly enraged at my supposed treason, and ordered me immediately to be sent in arrest on board his Majesty's ship the Aurora. I was carried thither with the nephew of the Vice-Consul, who, as I before observed, had been arrested in the general confusion; this circumstance afforded me some consolation, for if a man *known*, provided with every necessary passport, and bearing even letters of recommendation to the Governor, could be arrested, it was
no

no way astonishing that I should be detained; I therefore maintained my tranquillity pretty well, and was, I must own, not a little diverted at the dismay and consternation of my fellow-prisoner, who, being unpractised in alarms, seemed sufficiently uneasy under this temporary restraint.

When I learnt that it was supposed by all, even by Lord St. Vincent, that I belonged to the privateer, I immediately took the proper steps to clear myself from such a suspicion. Early next morning, Captains Lord William Stewart and Newhouse, of the royal navy, called upon me by the Admiral's command, to enquire how I came there, and what my purpose was; a very short explanation alone was necessary, and all restraint was immediately taken off. Nothing then remained for me but to solicit to be sent to Tangier; this adventure, however, I hold to be fortunate, as it afforded me an opportunity of explaining myself to men so justly the object of public admiration as the Governor and Admiral.

The day following, Earl St. Vincent directed Captain Selby, of his Majesty's ship *Mondovi*, to land me at Tangier. This direction was intimated to me in the morning, at which time the ship was laying with her main-mast out, and all her rigging down; I was ordered to em-

Y

bark

stopping at these low intrigues, would soon invade the females of superior rank, which would be a sufficient caution to fathers and husbands, whose youth had been spent in similar exploits, to trust more to locks and bolts than to male continence and female chastity.

There are several theatres in Lisbon, one of which is very fine, but no women are allowed to perform on the stage; to supply their want they employ the most delicate boys and young men, who, at the distance of the boxes, are not to be distinguished from women. This custom may possibly have given rise to an abominable vice, which is shockingly frequent here.

There is a dock-yard which is said to be very good, but I never saw it, except when I was weak enough to go there through the contrivance of *Manique*; but certainly the ships built there are extremely handsome *while new*. When they have been at sea a few years they, however, lose their shape, and become what the sailors call *bogged*, that is, instead of forming a beautiful curve, lowest in the middle and higher at the stem and stern; the ends fall and the middle rises, so as to resemble, in some degree, the back of a hog. This defect I have heard attributed, with what justice I know not, to the enormous weight of their guns; for though their iron is so much better than ours, that,
from

from the hammer marks I have seen upon new guns, I have reason to believe that they are hammered after they are cast, and they far surpass in weight British pieces of equal calibre; I think I do not exceed the truth when I estimate the difference of weight at one fourth.

The Portuguese sailors are by all nations allowed to be expert in their occupation; those that I saw in the whole Squadron, and particularly aboard her most Faithful Majesty's ship the *Ulysses*, were fine stout young men, remarkably quiet and orderly. Their pay is good, and they are perfectly happy in their situation, to which the greatest attention is paid by their officers, several of whom are every way qualified for supporting their rank with mildness, firmness, judgment, and dignity. Far different is the condition of their land forces. The only regiments I saw that were at all fit for service were two of infantry; one was that which still bears the name of La Lippe, the celebrated Field-Marshal and Captain-General of Portugal; the other was that of *Gomez Frere d'Andrade*, which is still better, and of its commander I may with propriety say, that no service can boast of a more able officer. The other regiments of infantry that I saw were miserable in every respect, and only exceeded in point of wretchedness by the cavalry, whose appearance,

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stopping at these low intrigues, would soon invade the females of superior rank, which would be a sufficient caution to fathers and husbands, whose youth had been spent in similar exploits, to trust more to locks and bolts than to male continence and female chastity.

There are several theatres in Lisbon, one of which is very fine, but no women are allowed to perform on the stage; to supply their want they employ the most delicate boys and young men, who, at the distance of the boxes, are not to be distinguished from women. This custom may possibly have given rise to an abominable vice, which is shockingly frequent here.

There is a dock-yard which is said to be very good, but I never saw it, except when I was weak enough to go there through the contrivance of *Manique*; but certainly the ships built there are extremely handsome *while new*. When they have been at sea a few years they, however, lose their shape, and become what the sailors call *bogged*, that is, instead of forming a beautiful curve, lowest in the middle and higher at the stem and stern; the ends fall and the middle rises, so as to resemble, in some degree, the back of a hog. This defect I have heard attributed, with what justice I know not, to the enormous weight of their guns; for though their iron is so much better than ours, that,
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accept the first employment that offered, and could no more engage myself to answer their call.

The town of *Tangier* lays in a bay at the mouth of the Gut of *Gibraltar*, in lat $35^{\circ} 43'$ N. long. $5^{\circ} 18'$ W. about fourteen leagues W. S. W. from that garrison. It is sheltered on the north behind that ridge of hills called *Cape Spartel*, which forms the southern side of the entrance into the Gut. The entrance of the bay is commanded by very high land on both sides, and might, with no great labour, be made extremely strong; at present there are no works near it, except a few small batteries, and those only the side next the town. The bay is exposed to different winds, which, besides the badness of the anchorage, render it an unsafe harbour at all times.

The town does not lay at the bottom of the bay, but on the western side of it; it is not very considerable, and is surrounded by a high wall hardly musket-proof. The streets are all, except one, so narrow, that two people can hardly pass each other; and so dirty, that no place I have ever seen, except *Lisbon*, can bear the least comparison with them; the town is no where regularly paved; but in some places a few stones are laid, as if dropped there by chance. The houses are, for the most part, only one story high,

high, with no windows towards the street, and very few any where else; they are all flat roofed, and, from the badness of the workmanship, the roof is sure to sink in the middle, thereby forming a sort of reservoir for the rain-water, which drops plentifully through, and renders the apartments very damp and disagreeable. Every house, great or small, encloses a quadrangle, where the gloomy master can sit, stupified with opium, smoaking his pipe, afraid lest any stranger should get a peep at his women, who, though perhaps objects of jealousy to their husbands, are certainly not objects of temptation to any one who has ever beheld the blaze of British beauty. The entrance into their houses is by a winding passage, which leads into the quadrangle, from whence are the entrances into all the apartments, and I no where saw the door of one room lead into another; these doors are large, with two folding flaps, like those of a coach gateway, and in them is a little wicket, scarce big enough for a man to pass in a stooping posture. The apartments are small, and very narrow in proportion to their lengths, being like partitioned spaces taken out of a gallery, and have seldom any light but what they receive from the wicket.

This town is, however, rendered very pleasant, as it is the residence of all the Consuls-

General, whose gay mode of living forms a very striking contrast with that of their gloomy neighbours. Their houses are built and furnished in the European taste, and Mr. Matra's in particular, so very neat and elegant, that I seemed to be in England whenever I entered it. The Consuls live in great splendour, and instead of practising that œconomy which in that place they might readily do, they seem to vie with each other in sumptuous elegance at their dinners, balls, and concerts; this society is further improved by the addition of some French families, who, on account of the war, have removed from Gibraltar to settle here.

Some of the Consuls have country-seats and gardens in the vicinity of the town; the British and the American Consul, Mr. Simpson, have each of them a retreat of this kind, beautifully situated, on the face of the mountain, which forms the entrance of the Gut. The gardens of both, but particularly Mr. Simpson's, who principally resides there, are very well laid out, but the way to them is infamously bad. None but the horses of that country would be able to ascend the mountains; the road requires almost climbing, and the path (especially that which leads to Mr. Simpson's,) is nothing but a channel, worn through the soil of the mountain down to the rock by the winter rains; it is so rough,

rough, steep, and stoney, that it is not less dangerous to descend to the bottom than difficult to ascend to the top.

In Tangier are several mosques, but of their interior I can give no description, it being forbidden to Christians to enter them; and if any one should accidentally stray within their gates, which are always open, he must either instantly submit to circumcision, and become a Mahometan, or his life must pay the forfeit. Some mosques have small courts before them, paved with tiles of different colours, and in the middle is a fountain for the ablutions practised according to the Mahometan ritual. In the interior parts of the country all Christians who pass must take off their hats and shoes, but this being the seat of the Consuls, they are excused the silly ceremony; the Jews are, however, obliged to submit to it in the fullest extent.

The gates of Tangier, and indeed of every other town in Barbary, are shut at sun-set and opened at sun-rise; no interest, no persuasion, can prevail upon them to keep those towards the sea open after the time allotted, or to unbar them a moment earlier.

The Jews are very numerous here, as well as in every other part of Barbary; by them, and through their means, all the trade of the country is carried on; nevertheless they
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are treated in the most barbarous manner. They are the most abject of slaves ; any Moor, even a child, will abuse and strike them whenever he thinks proper ; complaint at best would avail nothing, but probably would draw down upon them new and aggravated insults. Their houses must at all times be open, and the Moors go in when they please. It could not be supposed that these visits were of the most polite kind ; but British urbanity can with difficulty form an idea of the brutalities practised by those savage intruders.

The industry of these oppressed Israelites is astonishing ; patient, persevering, and dexterous, they accumulate fortunes ; and, amidst all their sufferings, they never cease to have in view their sole object, interest ; yet they are for the most part fair traders, and contented with moderate profits. Such is their humiliating state, that even the richest of them are glad to be ranked among the servants of any Christian, whose official situation can afford them protection against the oppressions under which they groan.

They are allowed to have their synagogue ; but whenever the Emperor wants money, he lays them under contribution, sometimes by seizing their place of worship, under pretence that the ground it stands upon is wanted for his service.

service. The late Emperor, who hated the Jews, found another, and a very ingenious way of extorting money from them. The Jewish women, from some motives, probably of religion, wear no colour in their petticoats except green: and, as the surest way of distressing them, this *enlightened Prince* issued a prohibition against that article of dress. His edicts waited no formality; the poor Jewesses must either strip, and the dealers lose the sale of all the stock they had, or make the best terms they could. A sum of money was proposed and accepted; the edict was repealed, and the petticoat again displayed its verdant hue.

The Moors, from their education, and their want of intercourse with strangers, are rude and uncouth in their manners; of society they have no idea; what little conversation they hold with each other is in the open air; and I cannot think that their discourse will abound with wit or erudition. Brutally ignorant, they look upon the Jews and Christians with ineffable contempt; so far indeed do they carry their arrogance, that a Moor, rather than tell either to go out of his way, will ride, or drive his cattle over him. They have, however, some idea of police, for guards are placed in the streets, and every person who walks out after sun-set must have a lantern carried before him. Whenever,
likewise,

likewise, a Christian goes into the country to any distance from the gates of the town, the Governor will not be answerable for any consequences, unless he takes a Moor with him, one of whom he will order to attend the traveller on application being made. I, however, dispensed with this ceremony, and when the Governor sent to tell me that I should take a Moor soldier with me when I went any distance, to prevent insult or ill treatment, I answered, that British dragoons were accustomed to guard others, and not to be guarded themselves, and that I wore a sword, to which I could perfectly trust my own safety.

The funerals of the Moors are conducted in a way sufficiently striking to a stranger; they are followed by a numerous croud, singing in the country fashion; the body is deposited in a sort of bier, and covered over, if a male, with a woollen cloth, called there *al baik*; and the whole machine completely rolled up in it, if a female.

The troops of this country, in their present state, are by no means fit to be opposed to European forces of any description; they have no idea of discipline, and their arms and dress are extremely ill calculated for the purposes of war. Their cavalry is the most numerous and best part of their forces; their horses are excellent
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and abundant every where, though for the road and for carriage of merchandize, the mule and the camel are most used. The Moors are excellent horsemen, and their cavalry, with very little trouble, might be made the finest in the world. The men in general are handsome, of a good size, stout, active, and can endure fatigue and hunger surprisingly well; their horses too, have every quality desirable, so that nothing is wanting but proper arms, harnessing, and training. At present, they wear a sort of loose pantaloons, no stockings, a loose robe, slippers, and spurs with one prodigious long iron spike, which serves at once for neck and for rowel; such indeed is the dress of the whole country. Their arms consist of a very long musket, and a very bad short sword; their saddle has a rising behind, which reaches a considerable height up the back, and another before, but the thigh is no way confined. The stirrup is in the Tartar fashion, as long and as broad as the foot, and the form of the saddle necessarily obliges them to ride with very short stirrups; for if they could not raise themselves much above the seat of the saddle, it would be impossible for them to seat themselves in it.

The bridle is the same as that used by the Tartars in general, and which I have already marked to have excited my astonishment, at finding

finding among the inhabitants of Brazil. It is worthy of remark, that the horses in Barbary, as well as Brazil, are remarkably tender mouthed, contrary to what my English readers would expect; but these powerful bridles keep a horse in awe, and the smallest touch makes him obey, so that there needs not that constant pulling which my countrymen are so fond of. I am aware of the force of prejudice, and that I shall be laughed at by many, when I assert, that a snaffle bit and a tight rein are good for nothing but to spoil a horse; let, however, any one for a moment consider whether any animal can move so briskly when restrained as when all its limbs have their free motion, and then let them say, what will be the effect of the perpetual pulling and sawing of a snaffle bit. Besides, the horse by degrees gets accustomed to this teasing but insignificant bit; a strong pull becomes necessary to check him, and the rider, as is too often the case with Englishmen, considers his bridle as a kind of support to himself. In a word, wherever a powerful bit is used, I have observed the horses to be tender mouthed, and the reverse in those where the snaffle is employed. The only evolution they practise is to form in line of battle, then in subdivisions to advance, with astonishing rapidity, some distance in front of the line; when they have made their career, in full speed,

speed, they in an instant throw their horses on their haunches, and stop as if nailed to the ground; they then fire, and return to the position they left, and this manœuvre they practise so often, that their horses are very soon ruined. They seemed to have no idea that an European could ride with dexterity, unless taught by them, and were much astonished at seeing me, on a smooth saddle, behind them in no feat of horsemanship. They fire with great exactness, but the fire of cavalry never can be made redoubtable; to give, therefore, to a horseman, more than one pistol, is, as I have elsewhere observed, only to encumber him, and to take from his activity.

Their manner of shoeing horses is awkward in the extreme; instead of forming the shoe in the European manner, they make the two heels cross each other, leaving an opening something like a loop before. They cut away the fore part of the hoof as much as they well can, but allow it to spread on the sides, by which means the foot not only becomes unshapely, but it occasions the horse to cut. The shoe is only fixed on with three or four nails on each side of the loops, and the crosses behind are bent up and hammered into the heel.

On my arrival at Tangier, Mr. Matra had given me the privilege of using his horses when
I pleased;

I pleased; I therefore took upon me to put at least one into decent trim. The shoe was the first point that I proceeded to reform; for which purpose having myself made a proper model, I took it to a Moorish blacksmith for his imitation. It is but justice to those artists to say, that they are ingenious; for the man after a few trials, compleated a set of very decent shoes, which I then nailed on to shew him the method of doing it. He seemed surpris'd at my mode of trimming the hoof; however, he soon acquir'd a competent knowledge, though I had much difficulty in prevailing upon him to fix the shoes sufficiently forward. I fitted up an old saddle of Mr. Matra's, in the huzar style, but the stirrups were lost, nor could I get a pair in all Tangier; I had, therefore, recourse to my ingenious smith, who, by the help of a model, made a pair that would not have disgraced a Birmingham artist. My thus being my own blacksmith, saddler, and farrier, gave the Moors a strange idea of me, as they had hitherto imagined themselves to be the only persons in the world that were capable of managing a horse.

Their stables are likewise a scene of absurdity and cruelty; they do not fasten their horses by the head, but by the fore-legs, with straps, to a chain, which is stretched the whole length of the manger, so that the poor animals cannot lay

lay down; if the horse be unruly, he is also fastened by the hinder legs, and I have actually seen a mettlesome stallion (for such are all the horses here) not only fastened by the fore-legs in the usual way, but with one hind-leg fastened, so as to be capable only of moving forward, and the other capable only of moving backward. I have just said that the horses are so fastened that they cannot lay down, but this the Moors consider as no hardship; for they *endeavour* to prevent them from it, under the notion that *a horse that lays down is sick*. Of their horses, however, they are very fond, and none are permitted to be exported, except such as are presents from the Emperor.

Travelling is very inconvenient in Barbary; every person must have a pass, and to make the road any way comfortable, an escort is necessary both for protection and to procure provisions; besides, there are only two short seasons, one in spring, and one in autumn, when travelling is decently practicable; for in winter, the whole country is deluged with rain, and in summer, the ground cracks in such a manner, that a horse is in danger of breaking his legs by stepping into the chinks.

CHAP. XXVI.

Treatment of Christian slaves in Barbary.—The author receives notice of the demand of the British Court for his surrender.—Complies with it, and sails for Gibraltar.—His letter to the Governor, and the answer.—Sails for Lisbon.—Politely received by the British officers there.—Writes to the British Envoy and Mr. Murray, with their answers.—Sails for Portsmouth.—His letter to the Duke of Portland.—Sent for to town.

I REMAINED some time at Tangier, enjoying every amusement that place could afford; I visited the several Consuls, who, notwithstanding any war, always live upon friendly terms, much to the benefit of their several sovereigns, whose affairs would be materially injured by any disagreement, as the Moors would not fail to turn it to their disadvantage. I likewise amused myself with excursions into the country, but these the rain often rendered unpleasant; however, as I wished to see all I could, I disregarded petty inconveniences. One of my principal amusements was the improving of my friend and benefactor, Mr. Matra's horses; and to this I so far devoted myself, that when (as will hereafter be related,) Earl St. Vincent dispatched an
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officer for me, I was found in the act of shoeing one of them.

I had one day an opportunity of knowing the treatment of the European slaves from their own mouths. Walking on the beach with an officer of the navy, we saw some of these captives, one of whom addressed himself to me in German; he informed me that they were *Lubekers* and *Hamburgeſe*, and had been some time in slavery. Their treatment does not, however, ſeem at all bad; their allowance is about fix-pence a day, at leaſt equal to one ſhilling and fix-pence here; they are not compelled to work, and ſome of them who had acknowledged themſelves to be boat-builders, having been employed at their trade, received additional wages in conſequence of the representation of the Conſuls, who inſiſted that they ſhould not work without being paid.

In the month of December a letter came from General O'Hara to Mr. Matra, acquainting him that I was ordered home in cuſtody; and at the ſame time Captain Newhouſe, of his Maſteſty's ſhip Peterell, was directed to receive me, *if I choſe to go*. I readily conſented to obey the order, but wrote to General O'Hara, that it would be impoſſible for me to comply with it ſo ſoon as twenty-four hours, which was all the time Captain Newhouſe could allow me; if, how-

ever, any other ship came in a few days, or if the Petterell would look in on her return from the expedition on which she was going, I would not require her to come to anchor, as upon hoisting red at the main I would instantly repair on board.

On the 8th of January, 1799, fourteen days after, the Petterell hove in sight, and having made the signal previously agreed upon, I repaired on board ; a few hours conveyed us to Gibraltar, where I no sooner arrived than I sent the following letter to General O'Hara :

" SIR,

" IN obedience to your Excellency's
" commands, and the directions of the benevo-
" lent Mr. Matra, whose singular bounties to me
" have given him the privilege of disposing of
" me as *he* pleases, I yesterday embarked on
" board his Majesty's ship Petterell, and now
" surrender myself to your Excellencies dispo-
" sition. From you, Sir, I am assured of liberal
" treatment, therefore I have only to solicit the
" honour of an early audience. Confident in
" the rectitude of my own conduct, and the
" justice of my country, I can entertain no ap-
" prehension ; but did there even exist a possi-
" bility of converting any act of mine into a
" crime ;

" crime, long accustomed to adversity, I have
 " learnt to meet with firmness all man can do.

" I am,

" Most perfectly and respectfully,

" SIR,

" Your Excellency's

" Very devoted servant.

" J. G. S. LISLE."

" *Gibraltar Bay,*

" *On board his M. S. Petterell,*

" *8th Jan. 1799.*"

The General, probably feeling himself a little awkward at the prospect of being drawn into conversation upon an affair of some delicacy, thought proper to decline complying with my request, and returned me the following answer:

" GIBRALTAR, the 9th JAN. 1799.

" SIR,

" IN consequence of orders from Government, through his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, you are to be sent to England in custody, and having no will of my own upon this occasion, I cannot but decline an interview, which, without serving you, could only give pain to

" SIR,

" Your obedient servant,

" CHA. O'HARA."

" *To Major Lisle.*"

Notwithstanding this refusal I, however, received marks of polite and kind attention from that excellent General.

It was the province of Earl St. Vincent to dispose of me as he pleased; and as his Majesty's ship *Mondovi* hove in sight the day after my arrival, I intreated his Lordship, that as she would, in all probability, soon return to Lisbon, I might be permitted to go in her; I particularly asked this, as I had some knowledge of Captain Selby, who commanded her, and who had before taken me to Tangier. I was honoured by his Lordship's consent, and he gave immediate orders to the *Mondovi* to prepare for her return as soon as she had delivered her dispatches and received those from the Garrison.

Next morning Captain Grey, whom I have before mentioned, came to me, and acquainted me, that the *Mondovi* was on the point of sailing; I therefore immediately repaired on board, and after a short voyage, during which I was treated with the utmost kindness and attention, arrived at Lisbon.

At Lisbon I was sent on board the *Brilliant*, commanded by that excellent officer and accomplished gentleman, Captain Blackwood. Here I enjoyed every pleasure the place would admit; and it is but justice to the several British

tish Commanders then in the Tagus, to declare, that I never, in the most auspicious situation of my life, was treated with more kindness and politeness. As soon as I arrived at Lisbon, I wrote to the British Envoy, Mr. Walpole, to whose humanity I had been so much indebted at my former visit to this place. To this he returned the following answer :

LISBON, 18th JANUARY, 1799.

“ SIR,

“ I HAVE been favoured with your
“ letter of yesterday’s date, and I take this op-
“ portunity of confirming to you the orders
“ which I have received from his Majesty to
“ send you home in custody ; and I have, in
“ obedience to his Majesty’s commands, de-
“ sired Captain Selby to convey you on board
“ his Majesty’s ship Brilliant, commanded by
“ Captain Blackwood, and I am persuaded that
“ you will receive every attention possible from
“ Captain Blackwood.

“ Under these circumstances you will per-
“ ceive the impossibility of my acquiescing in
“ your wishes to come on shore.

“ I am, SIR,

“ Your most obedient,

“ humble Servant,

“ ROB. WALPOLE.”

“ *Major J. G. Semple Lisle.*”

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I likewise wrote to Mr. Murray, the Consul-General, who had so kindly interfered for my liberation; and his answer, as explaining not only some parts of Mr. Walpole's, but several other circumstances, much better than I am able, I subjoin:

" SIR,

" I RECEIVED yesterday evening a letter from you without a date, and this morning, at 11 o'clock, one dated this morning. Before I say any thing on your present situation, let me acquaint you that I received a letter from you, from on board the vessel in which you left this river, after she was under weigh, so could not answer it to you then. I afterwards received that you left with the Portuguese gentleman at Belem, and paid him the two pieces you requested of me; the other two which you mention to have been put into the hands of the Intendant of Police I have never seen, nor ever will; it is in vain to expect it. All your papers left in my hands, with the certificate you desired from me, I sent Mr. J. Fox, at Falmouth, to lie till called for, as you desired, and I know they have got to hand.

" I observe what has passed with you since you left this. I went last night to the rooms

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“ expecting to meet Mr. Walpole; he did not
“ come there; and I am so much and so in-
“ dispensibly employed at present, writing to
“ Madeira and England, by vessels ready to sail,
“ that it is impossible for me to go to his house,
“ which is at a distance from mine; besides, it
“ appears to me, that it could be of no service
“ to you, not only because his conference with
“ Captain Selby must have been over this morn-
“ ing before I got your letter; but still more,
“ because, as he now acts under orders from
“ home, he cannot give scope to his own incli-
“ nations towards indulgencies to you, if con-
“ trary to those orders; and for that reason I
“ dare say he will decline giving you a meet-
“ ing. But there is still a further and more
“ powerful reason; after you went away, some
“ disagreeable circumstances took place be-
“ tween him and the Intendant; on that ac-
“ count an application to Court became neces-
“ sary, which the Intendant resented so much,
“ and laid before her Majesty the contents of
“ your, what he styled, petulant and insulting
“ letter to him, after your return from on board
“ the packet, that I am certain he would clap
“ you again into confinement the moment you
“ put your foot on shore here; and from the
“ nature of his office, he can do so, in spite of
“ all Mr. Walpole’s endeavour to prevent it.
“ Nothing but the Queen turning the Intend-
“ ant

I pleased; I therefore took upon me to put at least one into decent trim. The shoe was the first point that I proceeded to reform; for which purpose having myself made a proper model, I took it to a Moorish blacksmith for his imitation. It is but justice to those artists to say, that they are ingenious; for the man after a few trials, compleated a set of very decent shoes, which I then nailed on to shew him the method of doing it. He seemed surpris'd at my mode of trimming the hoof; however, he soon acquir'd a competent knowledge, though I had much difficulty in prevailing upon him to fix the shoes sufficiently forward. I fitted up an old saddle of Mr. Matra's, in the huzar style, but the stirrups were lost, nor could I get a pair in all Tangier; I had, therefore, recourse to my ingenious smith, who, by the help of a model, made a pair that would not have disgraced a Birmingham artist. My thus being my own blacksmith, saddler, and farrier, gave the Moors a strange idea of me, as they had hitherto imagined themselves to be the only persons in the world that were capable of managing a horse.

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" board his Majesty's ship Petterell, and now
" surrender myself to your Excellencies dispo-
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" treatment, therefore I have only to solicit the
" honour of an early audience. Confident in
" the rectitude of my own conduct, and the
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At Lisbon I was sent on board the *Brilliant*, commanded by that excellent officer and accomplished gentleman, Captain Blackwood. Here I enjoyed every pleasure the place would admit; and it is but justice to the several British

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 “ you will receive every attention possible from
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Their stables are likewise a scene of absurdity and cruelty; they do not fasten their horses by the head, but by the fore-legs, with straps, to a chain, which is stretched the whole length of the manger, so that the poor animals cannot
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lay down; if the horse be unruly, he is also fastened by the hinder legs, and I have actually seen a mettlesome stallion (for such are all the horses here) not only fastened by the fore-legs in the usual way, but with one hind-leg fastened, so as to be capable only of moving forward, and the other capable only of moving backward. I have just said that the horses are so fastened that they cannot lay down, but this the Moors consider as no hardship; for they *endeavour* to prevent them from it, under the notion that *a horse that lays down is sick*. Of their horses, however, they are very fond, and none are permitted to be exported, except such as are presents from the Emperor.

Travelling is very inconvenient in Barbary; every person must have a pass, and to make the road any way comfortable, an escort is necessary both for protection and to procure provisions; besides, there are only two short seasons, one in spring, and one in autumn, when travelling is decently practicable; for in winter, the whole country is deluged with rain, and in summer, the ground cracks in such a manner, that a horse is in danger of breaking his legs by stepping into the chinks.

CHAP. XXVI.

Treatment of Christian slaves in Barbary.—The author receives notice of the demand of the British Court for his surrender.—Complies with it, and sails for Gibraltar.—His letter to the Governor, and the answer.—Sails for Lisbon.—Politely received by the British officers there.—Writes to the British Envoy and Mr. Murray, with their answers.—Sails for Portsmouth.—His letter to the Duke of Portland.—Sent for to town.

I REMAINED some time at Tangier, enjoying every amusement that place could afford; I visited the several Consuls, who, notwithstanding any war, always live upon friendly terms, much to the benefit of their several sovereigns, whose affairs would be materially injured by any disagreement, as the Moors would not fail to turn it to their disadvantage. I likewise amused myself with excursions into the country, but these the rain often rendered unpleasant; however, as I wished to see all I could, I disregarded petty inconveniences. One of my principal amusements was the improving of my friend and benefactor, Mr. Matra's horses; and to this I so far devoted myself, that when (as will hereafter be related,) Earl St. Vincent dispatched an officer

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At Lisbon I was sent on board the *Brilliant*, commanded by that excellent officer and accomplished gentleman, Captain Blackwood. Here I enjoyed every pleasure the place would admit; and it is but justice to the several British

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“ nature of his office, he can do so, in spite of
“ all Mr. Walpole’s endeavour to prevent it.
“ Nothing but the Queen turning the Intend-
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" ant out of office could prevent it, and that
 " you may believe is totally out of the question.
 " All that Mr. Walpole could do, would be to
 " insist on your being delivered up whenever
 " he pointed out the vessel in which he wanted
 " to send you to England; and even then the
 " Intendant would have it in his power to send
 " you on board a prisoner, and with what disagreeable marks he might chuse to call necessary, on the score of security for your not being one instant at liberty in this city: all this he can do, and I dare say, would not bate one disagreeable item. As for me, I cannot speak to the Intendant, having been implicated in the business between him and the Envoy, in so much, that we have had no communication since.

" From all this you will gather that it is my
 " opinion that you have nothing for it but patience, and to make the best of it you can;
 " and when you arrive in England, I doubt not
 " your readiness to surrender yourself to your
 " country will have full weight, and be of that
 " service to you there, which it cannot possibly
 " be here. I return you Governor O'Hara's
 " letter.

" I am, Sir,

" Your obedient Servant,

" CHAS. MURRAY."

" *Lisbon, Jan. 18, 1799.*"

Not-

Notwithstanding these friendly cautions, as there were no apprehensions entertained of my deserting, I frequently went on shore in the most perfect contempt of *Manique* and his authority.

About the 10th of February we sailed for England, and after a pleasant passage, arrived at Portsmouth on the 22d of the same month. Immediately on my arrival I announced myself to his Grace of Portland in the following letter :

“ On board his M. Ship BRILLIANT, 22d Feb. 1799.

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour to inform your
“ Grace from Tangiers, that in consequence of
“ the extraordinary events with which you are
“ acquainted, I had found myself reduced to
“ the necessity of looking for hospitality on the
“ shores of Barbary, where I engaged myself to
“ remain inactive, a time more than sufficient
“ for your Grace to convey to me your com-
“ mands, which I bound myself to obey. About
“ six weeks after my arrival in that country it
“ was intimated by General O’Hara to Mr.
“ Matra, his Majesty’s Consul-General, (whose
“ bounties to me had given him a right to dis-
“ pose of me as he pleased,) that the British
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I pleased; I therefore took upon me to put at least one into decent trim. The shoe was the first point that I proceeded to reform; for which purpose having myself made a proper model, I took it to a Moorish blacksmith for his imitation. It is but justice to those artists to say, that they are ingenious; for the man after a few trials, compleated a set of very decent shoes, which I then nailed on to shew him the method of doing it. He seemed surpris'd at my mode of trimming the hoof; however, he soon acquir'd a competent knowledge, though I had much difficulty in prevailing upon him to fix the shoes sufficiently forward. I fitted up an old saddle of Mr. Matra's, in the huzar style, but the stirrups were lost, nor could I get a pair in all Tangier; I had, therefore, recourse to my ingenious smith, who, by the help of a model, made a pair that would not have disgraced a Birmingham artist. My thus being my own blacksmith, saddler, and farrier, gave the Moors a strange idea of me, as they had hitherto imagined themselves to be the only persons in the world that were capable of managing a horse.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Treatment of Christian slaves in Barbary.—The author receives notice of the demand of the British Court for his surrender.—Complies with it, and sails for Gibraltar.—His letter to the Governor, and the answer.—Sails for Lisbon.—Politely received by the British officers there.—Writes to the British Envoy and Mr. Murray, with their answers.—Sails for Portsmouth.—His letter to the Duke of Portland.—Sent for to town.

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In the month of December a letter came from General O'Hara to Mr. Matra, acquainting him that I was ordered home in custody; and at the same time Captain Newhouse, of his Majesty's ship *Peterell*, was directed to receive me, *if I chose to go*. I readily consented to obey the order, but wrote to General O'Hara, that it would be impossible for me to comply with it so soon as twenty-four hours, which was all the time Captain Newhouse could allow me; if, how-

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On the 8th of January, 1799, fourteen days after, the Petterell hove in sight, and having made the signal previously agreed upon, I repaired on board ; a few hours conveyed us to Gibraltar, where I no sooner arrived than I sent the following letter to General O'Hara :

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 " you will receive every attention possible from
 " Captain Blackwood.

" Under these circumstances you will perceive the impossibility of my acquiescing in
 " your wishes to come on shore.

" I am, SIR,

" Your most obedient,

" humble Servant,

" ROB. WALPOLE."

" Major J. G. Semple Lisle."

Z 4

I like-

Notwithstanding this refusal I, however, received marks of polite and kind attention from that excellent General.

It was the province of Earl St. Vincent to dispose of me as he pleased; and as his Majesty's ship *Mondovi* hove in sight the day after my arrival, I intreated his Lordship, that as she would, in all probability, soon return to Lisbon, I might be permitted to go in her; I particularly asked this, as I had some knowledge of Captain Selby, who commanded her, and who had before taken me to Tangier. I was honoured by his Lordship's consent, and he gave immediate orders to the *Mondovi* to prepare for her return as soon as she had delivered her dispatches and received those from the Garifon.

Next morning Captain Grey, whom I have before mentioned, came to me, and acquainted me, that the *Mondovi* was on the point of sailing; I therefore immediately repaired on board, and after a short voyage, during which I was treated with the utmost kindness and attention, arrived at Lisbon.

At Lisbon I was sent on board the *Brilliant*, commanded by that excellent officer and accomplished gentleman, Captain Blackwood. Here I enjoyed every pleasure the place would admit; and it is but justice to the several British

“ expecting to meet Mr. Walpole; he did not
“ come there; and I am so much and so in-
“ dispensibly employed at present, writing to
“ Madeira and England, by vessels ready to sail,
“ that it is impossible for me to go to his house,
“ which is at a distance from mine; besides, it
“ appears to me, that it could be of no service
“ to you, not only because his conference with
“ Captain Selby must have been over this morn-
“ ing before I got your letter; but still more,
“ because, as he now acts under orders from
“ home, he cannot give scope to his own incli-
“ nations towards indulgencies to you, if con-
“ trary to those orders; and for that reason I
“ dare say he will decline giving you a meet-
“ ing. But there is still a further and more
“ powerful reason; after you went away, some
“ disagreeable circumstances took place be-
“ tween him and the Intendant; on that ac-
“ count an application to Court became neces-
“ sary, which the Intendant resented so much,
“ and laid before her Majesty the contents of
“ your, what he styled, petulant and insulting
“ letter to him, after your return from on board
“ the packet, that I am certain he would clap
“ you again into confinement the moment you
“ put your foot on shore here; and from the
“ nature of his office, he can do so, in spite of
“ all Mr. Walpole's endeavour to prevent it.
“ Nothing but the Queen turning the Intend-
“ ant

defence on the road; in short, his humanity and politeness made me forget that I was a prisoner.

C H A P. XXVII,

The author arrives in town, is sent to Totbil-Fields Bridewell.—Character of that prison.—The author's exploits with bailiffs.—Conclusion,

AT my arrival in town I was deposited in Totbil-Fields Bridewell, where I have ever since remained, to use the phraseology of the place, like a parcel left at an inn till called for. Here I have received the utmost politeness, and the most humane attention, from Mr. Fenwick, the Governor, and his family, who seem, in short, to be formed by nature for softening the rigours of captivity; such, too, is the force of example, that the same humanity pervades all his servants, and guilt, though nothing human can divest it of its horrors and remorse, feels them as its worst evils, without the aggravation of tortures, equally cruel, unnecessary, and impolitic.

Thus far has been, what we may call, the more serious part of my history; and many of my

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“ come there; and I am so much and so in-
“ dispensibly employed at present, writing to
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“ that it is impossible for me to go to his house,
“ which is at a distance from mine; besides, it
“ appears to me, that it could be of no service
“ to you, not only because his conference with
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“ home, he cannot give scope to his own incli-
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“ put your foot on shore here; and from the
“ nature of his office, he can do so, in spite of
“ all Mr. Walpole’s endeavour to prevent it.
“ Nothing but the Queen turning the Intend-
“ ant

One of my best manœuvres to avoid them was, before my person was known to them, to pretend business in all the different spunging-houses: I thus knew their faces, and by the help of a good look-out, for a long time avoided them. One day, however, near Charing-cross, I was met in a hackney-coach by two bailiffs, who had a writ against me; as soon as I perceived them, I ordered the coachman to drive as fast as he possibly could into the Horse Guards, promising to take all consequences upon myself, and to give him a guinea for his trouble. The descendant of Jehu exerted his utmost skill, but without being able to prevent one from attempting to seize the horses, while the other attempted to storm the door; a dexterous application of the whip, however, made the post the former had taken very uneasy, and I repelled, as well as I could, the attacks of the other invader. Both clung, however, to the sides of the coach, till we drove altogether into the Horse Guards; there I leaped out, and having explained the matter to the officer then on duty, made a bow to the bailiffs, and walked through the Park, while they returned by the gate they had entered, amidst the laughter of all who beheld the scene.

Another time, sitting at breakfast, I was attacked by three of them, and got off by the following

Notwithstanding these friendly cautions, as there were no apprehensions entertained of my deserting, I frequently went on shore in the most perfect contempt of *Manique* and his authority.

About the 10th of February we failed for England, and after a pleasant passage, arrived at Portsmouth on the 22d of the same month. Immediately on my arrival I announced myself to his Grace of Portland in the following letter :

“ On board his M. Ship BRILLIANT, 22d Feb. 1799.

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour to inform your
 “ Grace from Tangiers, that in consequence of
 “ the extraordinary events with which you are
 “ acquainted, I had found myself reduced to
 “ the necessity of looking for hospitality on the
 “ shores of Barbary, where I engaged myself to
 “ remain inactive, a time more than sufficient
 “ for your Grace to convey to me your com-
 “ mands, which I bound myself to obey. About
 “ six weeks after my arrival in that country it
 “ was intimated by General O’Hara to Mr.
 “ Matra, his Majesty’s Consul-General, (whose
 “ bounties to me had given him a right to dis-
 “ pose of me as he pleased,) that the British
 Envoy

and must, for my own sake, bring any illegal act before a Court of Justice, that I might be rid of such plagues for the future. This puzzled the bailiffs, who, with some reluctance, went down stairs, and, at the door, enquired of the servant of the house, if there was *any other Captain Semple* in that street; she told him there was, and opening the door, pointed out to them the same house that I had done. This satisfied them, and I profited by the diversion thus made in my favour to escape, leaving my honourable namesake to settle the affair with them as he could. In a word, he was taken to a spunging-house, in spite of all his remonstrances, till the agent of the regiment released him; I have been told, he afterwards attempted a prosecution against the bailiff, but it appearing that no wanton use had been made of the writ, and that the mistake was almost unavoidable, he obtained no satisfaction.

Another time Colonel ——— had the misfortune to be arrested, and two *good sureties* being demanded, I undertook to procure them for my old friend and companion. Two were accordingly found; but, alas! notwithstanding they swore positively, they were not credited, and we were forced to come again into court next day; then, however, we succeeded, for having procured *a new face*, I dressed one of the
former

officer for me, I was found in the act of shoeing one of them.

I had one day an opportunity of knowing the treatment of the European slaves from their own mouths. Walking on the beach with an officer of the navy, we saw some of these captives, one of whom addressed himself to me in German; he informed me that they were *Lubekers* and *Hamburgese*, and had been some time in slavery. Their treatment does not, however, seem at all bad; their allowance is about six-pence a day, at least equal to one shilling and six-pence here; they are not compelled to work, and some of them who had acknowledged themselves to be boat-builders, having been employed at their trade, received additional wages in consequence of the representation of the Consuls, who insisted that they should not work without being paid.

In the month of December a letter came from General O'Hara to Mr. Matra, acquainting him that I was ordered home in custody; and at the same time Captain Newhouse, of his Majesty's ship *Peterell*, was directed to receive me, *if I chose to go*. I readily consented to obey the order, but wrote to General O'Hara, that it would be impossible for me to comply with it so soon as twenty-four hours, which was all the time Captain Newhouse could allow me; if, how-

CHAP. XXVI.

Treatment of Christian slaves in Barbary.—The author receives notice of the demand of the British Court for his surrender.—Complies with it, and sails for Gibraltar.—His letter to the Governor, and the answer.—Sails for Lisbon.—Politely received by the British officers there.—Writes to the British Envoy and Mr. Murray, with their answers.—Sails for Portsmouth.—His letter to the Duke of Portland.—Sent for to town.

I REMAINED some time at Tangier, enjoying every amusement that place could afford; I visited the several Consuls, who, notwithstanding any war, always live upon friendly terms, much to the benefit of their several sovereigns, whose affairs would be materially injured by any disagreement, as the Moors would not fail to turn it to their disadvantage. I likewise amused myself with excursions into the country, but these the rain often rendered unpleasant; however, as I wished to see all I could, I disregarded petty inconveniences. One of my principal amusements was the improving of my friend and benefactor, Mr. Matra's horses; and to this I so far devoted myself, that when (as will hereafter be related,) Earl St. Vincent dispatched an officer

officer for me, I was found in the act of shoeing one of them.

I had one day an opportunity of knowing the treatment of the European slaves from their own mouths. Walking on the beach with an officer of the navy, we saw some of these captives, one of whom addressed himself to me in German; he informed me that they were *Lubekers* and *Hamburgese*, and had been some time in slavery. Their treatment does not, however, seem at all bad; their allowance is about six-pence a day, at least equal to one shilling and six-pence here; they are not compelled to work, and some of them who had acknowledged themselves to be boat-builders, having been employed at their trade, received additional wages in consequence of the representation of the Consuls, who insisted that they should not work without being paid.

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ever, any other ship came in a few days, or if the Petterell would look in on her return from the expedition on which she was going, I would not require her to come to anchor, as upon hoisting red at the main I would instantly repair on board.

On the 8th of January, 1799, fourteen days after, the Petterell hove in sight, and having made the signal previously agreed upon, I repaired on board ; a few hours conveyed us to Gibraltar, where I no sooner arrived than I sent the following letter to General O'Hara :

" SIR,

" IN obedience to your Excellency's
" commands, and the directions of the benevo-
" lent Mr. Matra, whose singular bounties to me
" have given him the privilege of disposing of
" me as *he* pleases, I yesterday embarked on
" board his Majesty's ship Petterell, and now
" surrender myself to your Excellencies dispo-
" sition. From you, Sir, I am assured of liberal
" treatment, therefore I have only to solicit the
" honour of an early audience. Confident in
" the rectitude of my own conduct, and the
" justice of my country, I can entertain no ap-
" prehension ; but did there even exist a possi-
" bility of converting any act of mine into a
" crime ;

" crime, long accustomed to adversity, I have
 " learnt to meet with firmness all man can do.

" I am,

" Most perfectly and respectfully,

" SIR,

" Your Excellency's

" Very devoted servant.

" J. G. S. LISLE."

" *Gibraltar Bay,*

" *On board his M. S. Petterell,*

" *8th Jan. 1799.*"

The General, probably feeling himself a little awkward at the prospect of being drawn into conversation upon an affair of some delicacy, thought proper to decline complying with my request, and returned me the following answer :

" GIBRALTAR, the 9th JAN. 1799.

" SIR,

" IN consequence of orders from Government, through his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, you are to be sent to England in custody, and having no will of my own upon this occasion, I cannot but decline an interview, which, without serving you, could only give pain to

" SIR,

" Your obedient servant,

" CHA. O'HARA."

" *To Major Lisle.*"

Z 3

Notwith-

Notwithstanding this refusal I, however, received marks of polite and kind attention from that excellent General.

It was the province of Earl St. Vincent to dispose of me as he pleased; and as his Majesty's ship *Mondovi* hove in sight the day after my arrival, I intreated his Lordship, that as she would, in all probability, soon return to Lisbon, I might be permitted to go in her; I particularly asked this, as I had some knowledge of Captain Selby, who commanded her, and who had before taken me to Tangier. I was honoured by his Lordship's consent, and he gave immediate orders to the *Mondovi* to prepare for her return as soon as she had delivered her dispatches and received those from the Garrison.

Next morning Captain Grey, whom I have before mentioned, came to me, and acquainted me, that the *Mondovi* was on the point of sailing; I therefore immediately repaired on board, and after a short voyage, during which I was treated with the utmost kindness and attention, arrived at Lisbon.

At Lisbon I was sent on board the *Brilliant*, commanded by that excellent officer and accomplished gentleman, Captain Blackwood. Here I enjoyed every pleasure the place would admit; and it is but justice to the several British

tish Commanders then in the Tagus, to declare, that I never, in the most auspicious situation of my life, was treated with more kindness and politeness. As soon as I arrived at Lisbon, I wrote to the British Envoy, Mr. Walpole, to whose humanity I had been so much indebted at my former visit to this place. To this he returned the following answer :

LISBON, 18th JANUARY, 1799.

" SIR,

" I HAVE been favoured with your
 " letter of yesterday's date, and I take this op-
 " portunity of confirming to you the orders
 " which I have received from his Majesty to
 " send you home in custody ; and I have, in
 " obedience to his Majesty's commands, de-
 " fired Captain Selby to convey you on board
 " his Majesty's ship Brilliant, commanded by
 " Captain Blackwood, and I am persuaded that
 " you will receive every attention possible from
 " Captain Blackwood.

" Under these circumstances you will per-
 " ceive the impossibility of my acquiescing in
 " your wishes to come on shore.

" I am, SIR,

" Your most obedient,

" humble Servant,

" ROB. WALPOLE."

" Major J. G. Semple Lisle."

Z 4

I like-

I likewise wrote to Mr. Murray, the Consul-General, who had so kindly interfered for my liberation; and his answer, as explaining not only some parts of Mr. Walpole's, but several other circumstances, much better than I am able, I subjoin:

" SIR,

" I RECEIVED yesterday evening a letter from you without a date, and this morning, at 11 o'clock, one dated this morning. Before I say any thing on your present situation, let me acquaint you that I received a letter from you, from on board the vessel in which you left this river, after she was under weigh, so could not answer it to you then. I afterwards received that you left with the Portuguese gentleman at Belem, and paid him the two pieces you requested of me; the other two which you mention to have been put into the hands of the Intendant of Police I have never seen, nor ever will; it is in vain to expect it. All your papers left in my hands, with the certificate you desired from me, I sent Mr. J. Fox, at Falmouth, to lie till called for, as you desired, and I know they have got to hand.

" I observe what has passed with you since you left this. I went last night to the rooms

" ex-

“ expecting to meet Mr. Walpole; he did not
“ come there; and I am so much and so in-
“ dispensibly employed at present, writing to
“ Madeira and England, by vessels ready to sail,
“ that it is impossible for me to go to his house,
“ which is at a distance from mine; besides, it
“ appears to me, that it could be of no service
“ to you, not only because his conference with
“ Captain Selby must have been over this morn-
“ ing before I got your letter; but still more,
“ because, as he now acts under orders from
“ home, he cannot give scope to his own incli-
“ nations towards indulgencies to you, if con-
“ trary to those orders; and for that reason I
“ dare say he will decline giving you a meet-
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“ powerful reason; after you went away, some
“ disagreeable circumstances took place be-
“ tween him and the Intendant; on that ac-
“ count an application to Court became neces-
“ sary, which the Intendant resented so much,
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“ your, what he styled, petulant and insulting
“ letter to him, after your return from on board
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“ you again into confinement the moment you
“ put your foot on shore here; and from the
“ nature of his office, he can do so, in spite of
“ all Mr. Walpole’s endeavour to prevent it.
“ Nothing but the Queen turning the Intend-
“ ant

*Extract from the STAR, of Ensign PRATER'S
Narrative of the Mutiny on board the LADY
SHORE.*

" On the 1st day of August, 1797, about
" four o'clock A. M. the French emigrants,
" and a number of deserters (sent on board the
" Lady Shore) bound to New Holland, as-
" sisted by the seamen,* revolted, and took pos-
" session of the ship, guns, small arms, and the
" arm-chest. Mr. Lambert, Chief Mate, whose
" watch it was upon deck, having observed
" them for some time loading their muskets at
" the main hatchway, without alarming the
" Captain or Officers commanding the troops,
" imprudently went into the cabin, loaded his
" pistols, and discharging one of them, shot a
" Frenchman, named de la Hay; the muti-
" neers immediately shot Mr. Lambert dead
" on the spot. As Captain Wilcox, hearing
" a noise, was coming out of his cabin, he was
" stabbed in the right side of his neck, and in
" his left breast, which occasioned him to fall
" down the companion ladder into the great ca-
" bin, which was our apartment. By this time the

* The seamen evidently lent no assistance in the time of the mutiny, they afterwards were compelled to assist in working the ship. (P. 206.)

" revolters

“ revolvers had entire possession of the ship, stationing sentries at every hatchway, with their arms loaded, pointing two guns down the main hatchway, loaded with grape-shot and broken bottles; also two guns on the fore-castle, pointed aft, loaded in the like manner; laying on the gratings at every hatchway, to stop any one from coming upon deck.

“ About eight o’clock A. M.* the chiefs and several others came down below into the great cabin, and demanded our arms, which were given them; at the same time Adjutant Minchin gave orders to the serjeants to deliver up what arms and what ammunition they had amongst them, and desired them not to make any resistance. Adjutant M. gave his word and honour that no resistance should be made on his part, or any of his people, against them. Serjeant Hughes informed Adjutant M. he had about twenty-eight stand of arms, and about thirty or forty rounds of ball cartridges, which Adjutant M. ordered him to deliver up.

* Mr. Prater must either possess the faculty of seeing through three bulk-heads of stout oak plank, or else he must relate this from hearsay, as he was, at the time he mentions, concealed among the women convicts. (P. 199.)

“ They informed us, that in a few days they
“ intended to give us the long-boat, and send
“ us away, which they performed on the 15th
“ day, at eight o’clock P. M. distance about
“ 100 leagues off land, at the entrance of the
“ river de la Plata, in the latitude of Cape St.
“ Mary; sending in the long-boat twenty-nine
“ persons, men, women, and children, the
“ youngest child not five weeks old. After
“ meeting with very tempestuous weather and
“ heavy seas, in forty-eight hours we arrived at
“ a Portuguese settlement, called Port Saint
“ Pedroes, Rio Grande, where we were received
“ by the Governor and inhabitants in a very
“ humane manner. On our first arrival at Port
“ Saint Pedroes, Adjutant Minchin, of his own
“ accord,* allowed James George Semple Lisle,
“ who was a convict on board, to make out a
“ Report to the Governor, that he the said
“ Semple was a Major in the Dutch cavalry,
“ and Adjutant M. sanctioned him in it.
“ Some few days after, the officer, at whose
“ house I was quartered, asked me the reason
“ why the said Major had not his uniform, belt,
“ breast-plate, sash, &c. as well as Adjutant

* I have elsewhere remarked the gross falsehood of this relation, for further satisfaction, the reader may, however, refer to P. 215—217.

* M. and

“ M. and self? I, not wishing to deceive the
“ officer, informed him he never had any; and
“ that he was nothing but a convict, and was
“ sent out for seven years transportation. The
“ Governor was informed what I had re-
“ ported, and acquainted Semple with it, who
“ went to Minchin’s quarters, and asked his
“ advice what he should do in the business?
“ Minchin advised him to seek and run me
“ through, and there would be nothing more
“ said about his character. Minchin being
“ very intimate with Semple, went next morn-
“ ing, in company with him, to the Governor’s,
“ carrying a parcel of papers belonging to him,
“ one of them said to be a Dutch Commission
“ in the cavalry *: and Minchin told the Go-
“ vernor the said Semple was a gentleman of
“ rank and fortune, a passenger on board the
“ Lady Shore; and that he knew him to be an

* I am more ashamed, if possible, of Prater’s folly and baseness, than of the trouble I give my readers in remarking it. There was, it seems, a paper which he could not read, and this I called, what it really was, a Dutch Commission; but surely his own ignorance was no sufficient reason for his assertion. By the same rule he might deny any other paper to be authentic; he wished to vilify me in the eyes of all mankind, and therefore finding his story disregarded by the distinguished personages of *Rio Grande*, he attempted to circulate it in England, where, to his disgrace, the falsehood of his assertion is universally known.

“ officer in Dutch cavalry, and what I had
“ reported was an infamous lie; and he the said
“ Minchin hoped the Governor would chastise
“ me. Minchin took Semple’s advice in every
“ thing,* and always kept him company.

“ On the 23d September, 1797, we were
“ embarked on board small craft for Rio de Ja-
“ neiro. Semple, Mr. Black, and Michael
“ Richards, a boy, made interest to go by land
“ to St. Catharine’s. We arrived at Rio de
“ Janeiro on the 23d of October, some time
“ after the above-mentioned people had reached
“ that settlement from St. Catharine’s, on board
“ the Portuguese men of war. Semple was on
“ board the Admiral’s ship, Signior Antoine
“ Janeiro’s; Mr. Black on board a 64 gun ship,
“ commanded by one Thompson,† an English-
“ man. On board the Admiral’s ship was an-
“ other Englishman (named Philip Anvorn, a

* Neither Minchin nor Prater were *my companions*, and had
either of them taken my advice during the mutiny, I have little
doubt of having saved the ship; and had they taken it when
they were in Brazil, they would have met with more respect
than they received.

† Since the time of *one Arnold*, I have not heard of even an
enemy being treated with such indecency. But to the truth
of the next observation I readily and heartily subscribe; Mr.
Prater was *sincerely* sorry that I was treated with respect by the
most distinguished officers in the Portuguese service.

“ Lieutenant

“ Lieutenant in our service, but rank of Major-
“ General in the Portuguese service) who, I
“ am sorry to say, paid every attention to
“ Semple, supplying him with cash, and in-
“ troducing him to the first company in Rio
“ de Janeiro. Although I had applied to him
“ in person for assistance, and to use his interest
“ for us to be better treated than what we were,
“ he, knowing our situation, many days with-
“ out subsistence, actually in a state of starva-
“ tion, the allowance from the Viceroy being
“ only twelve ventes, sterling about $13\frac{1}{2}$ d.
“ per day, for fifty days; and that was actually
“ stopped from all of us for four or five days,
“ except Drummond, without our having a
“ morsel of bread to eat.

“ On the 23d of January, 1798, we were em-
“ barked on board the different Brazil mer-
“ chantmen, for St. Salvadore's and Lisbon,
“ and arrived at St. Salvadore's the 5th of
“ April; being very ill treated on board the
“ merchantmen, having nothing to eat but
“ stinking salt beef, cascade root, and horse
“ beans. We represented our ill treatment to
“ Francisco Paulo de Lait, Admiral, and com-
“ manding our convoy, who took no notice of
“ it. We staid at St. Salvadore's two months,
“ receiving no subsistence either from the Go-
“ vernor or Commodore. On board the ship
“ with

*" Copy of Lieutenant GERARD DRUMMOND'S
Certificate.*

" Ensign Prater having desired me to look
" into the above Report of the seizure, &c. of
" the ship Lady Shore, on the 1st day of Au-
" gust, 1797; I do hereby declare the above re-
" port to be true, as I was on board the ship at
" the time, and have been with Mr. Prater
" since leaving the ship, in the long boat, to
" our arrival at this place.

(Signed) " GERARD DRUMMOND,
" Lieutenant Bombay Marines Hon.
" East-India Company's Service."*

* This was a most convenient certificate; it was, without a date, tacked, like an epaulet on a military coat, to any thing that required it, and shifted as occasion offered. Mr. Drummond is in the East Indies, or I might answer his certificate by asking, who it was that hid himself under the surgeon's bed?

(COPIE.)

" with myself was Lieutenant Drummond. On
 " our coming out of the Bay of All-Saints, we
 " unfortunately carried away our rudder, and
 " were obliged to return to refit, when, on ap-
 " plying to the Governor for a passage in the
 " second convoy, he kindly ordered us on board
 " the frigate Carlotta, the Commodore of the con-
 " voy where we cannot say, with truth, we were
 " treated like gentlemen. On our going into
 " the Tagus, we got aground on the Bar of
 " Lisbon, but in twenty-four hours we happily
 " got off, by the assistance of the Almighty,
 " and not by the good management of the Por-
 " tuguese.* Witness my hand this 1st Septem-
 " ber, 1798.

" W. M. PRATER, Ensign,

" N. S. W. Corps of Foot."

* Mr. Prater grows wondrous pious towards his conclusion;
 and indeed if his piety there arose from repentance for the
 falsehoods that he had uttered, it might be, perhaps, a con-
 solation to the godly part of his friends. Without, however,
 the least intention of under-rating the mercies of God, or over-
 rating the seamanship of the Portuguese sailors, had they not
 been on board, the ship had, I doubt, remained on the Bar
 of Lisbon till this day.

" Copy

*" Copy of Lieutenant GERARD DRUMMOND'S
Certificate.*

" Ensign Prater having desired me to look
" into the above Report of the seizure, &c. of
" the ship Lady Shore, on the 1st day of Au-
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(COPIE.)

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*A Monsieur,**Monsieur le Baron D'OMPTEDA,**Envoyé d'HANOVRE,**a RATISBONNE.*

“ SOUFFREZ, Monsieur, que je vous
 “ demande raison de votre conduite a mon
 “ egard.

“ En 1°. A quel titre, et de quel droit avez
 “ vous en la témérité, de me faire arrêter?
 “ Etoit-ce comme Ministre de sa Majesté Bri-
 “ tannique? Mais, Monsieur, etiez vous revêtu
 “ de ce caractère? Vous qui n'etes reçu a la
 “ Diette de Ratisbonne que comme le Ministre
 “ de l'Electeur de Brunswic Lunebourg, et en
 “ qui le Senat d'Augsburg n'a reconnu que ce
 “ titre dans son decret ci joint, du 11 Mars,
 “ 1794.

“ Vous avez donc eu tort de vous qualifier de
 “ Ministre de sa M. Britannique comme vous
 “ l'avez fait a Augsburg le 11 Decembre, 1793;
 “ et dont je vous envoie un fidele extrait. Ce
 “ n'est donc point a ce titre que vous avez pu
 “ avoir autorité sur moi

“ Mais encore, etoit-ce en qualité d'autho-
 “ risé de sa M. B.? Mais comment auriez vous
 l'impudence

“ l'impudence de le dire ? Vous qui savez que
 “ le véritable Ministre de la Cour Britannique
 “ a Ratisbonne, a déclaré qu' elle n'avoit pas
 “ demandé mon arrestation, et que le Roi n'a-
 “ voit aucun sujet de plainte contre moi.

“ Vous n'aviez donc, Monsieur, aucune au-
 “ thorité sur moi, ni comme Ministre, ni comme
 “ autorisé de sa Majesté Britannique, vous
 “ avez donc outre passé les pouvoirs qui vous
 “ ont été confiés par votre Souverain, et par
 “ conséquent compromis le caractère dont il
 “ vous avoit revêtu,

“ Mais 2°. Quand vous auriez été revêtu de
 “ tous les titres que vous avez eu la presomp-
 “ tion d'emprunter, ma conduite méritoit-elle
 “ de si mauvais traitements de votre part ? les
 “ témoignages flatteurs et les grades honnora-
 “ bles que m'ont accordé les Princes sous les
 “ drapeaux desquels j'ai servir ne la justifient-
 “ ils pas suffisamment ?

“ Je ne parlerai point ici de mes campagnes
 “ au service de la Russie, ni de celles que j'ai
 “ fait en Amérique dans les armées de S. M. B.
 “ mon Souverain, mais je parle de la manière
 “ dont je me suis montré en 1793 en combat-
 “ tant sous les ordres de S. A. S. Monseigneur
 “ le Duc de Brunswic Oels, et en suite sous
 “ ceux de S. A. S. Monseigneur le Prince d'
 “ Orange, le grade honorable que cet auguste
 “ Prince

“ Prince m’a accordé dans l’armée de LL. HH.
 “ PP. prouve la confiance qu’il avoit en moi,
 “ et si j’ai manqué a mon devoir, c’étoit a lui
 “ et nullement a vous, Monsieur, a s’en plain-
 “ dre.

“ Après m’avoir fait éprouver les plus in-
 “ justes vexations, m’avoir condamné aux hor-
 “ reurs d’une prison de trois mois ou j’étois au
 “ secret ainsi que mes domestiques, et après être
 “ resté une autre mois dans cette ville pour vous
 “ donner le tems de prouver les griefs, que
 “ vous avez avancés contre moi, sans que vous
 “ ayez pu en vérifier un seul, il ne vous reste
 “ plus maintenant, Monsieur, que de me rendre
 “ raison de si iniques procédés. J’exige une
 “ reparation, vous savez de quel genre. Vous
 “ avez voulu me degrader a la face de l’Europe,
 “ et c’est a la face de l’Europe que je vous de-
 “ mande la satisfaction qui m’est due.

“ Je suis enattendant votre réponse autant
 “ que je dois l’être,

“ Monsieur,

“ Votre tres humble Serviteur,

“ J. G. S. LISLE,

Ce Mars, 1794.

“ Major.”

THE END.

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